THE

APPENDIX

TO THE

CRITICAL REVIEW.

VOL. XIV. *No. V.*

ART. I.—*Histoire Critique de la Republique Romaine, &c.*

A Critical History of the Roman Republic, in which Work it is proposed to destroy the inveterate Prejudices, with respect to the History of the first Ages of the Republic; the Morality of the Romans, their Virtues, their external Policy, their Constitution, and the Character of their celebrated Men. By Peter Charles Levesque, Member of the Institute and of the Legion of Honor, Professor of Morality and History in the College of France. 3 *vols.* 8vo. Paris. 1807.

THERE is nothing perhaps which has so great an influence both on the improvement of individual intellect and on the general interests of truth, as the sober exercise and proper regulation of the faculty of *doubting*. If lightly employed, and injudiciously directed, it involves us in infinite embarrassment, imbecility, and misery. But if, on the other hand, we are induced by indolence or timidity to stifle the freedom of its operations, and bury one of our most important talents in fruitless inactivity, the understanding will gradually forfeit all its vigor and originality, and our noblest powers will be overwhelmed by the accumulated rubbish of unquestioned authority, and unexamined prejudice.

Of these two dangers we are of opinion that the latter is the most formidable; it is certainly by far the most frequent.—We laugh indeed at the child, or the rustic, who professes his implicit belief of preposterous facts, because he has seen them printed in a book: but are we sure that the convictions of the scholar and the statesman are always founded on a surer basis?

Is any thing more common than to observe that facts are not only admitted to be true as facts, but are relied on as the guides of future conduct, merely because they form a part of *history?* And what is history? Not indeed, as Voltaire rashly defined it, "a romance, which is believed;" such general and indiscriminate censures are as hostile to truth, and as revolting to philosophy, as the undistinguishing admissions of weak credulity: but history is nothing more than a collection of facts depending on the testimony of men, and consequently more or less entitled to credit according to their means of information, and their willingness to speak the truth. If recurrence were more frequently had to this simple definition, we should at least learn to postpone our decisions on facts to an examination of evidence, and probably might be led to believe that the common argument in favor of their truth "that they form a part of history" is almost as much a cause of suspicion as a ground of implicit confidence.

Among those who have attempted to teach men to think for themselves, by a bold attack on established errors, M. Levesque holds a distinguished rank. His enterprise is hardy and difficult, in proportion as the common history of Rome has been long and universally accepted, devoutly believed, and ardently admired. The historical facts which first become familiar to our understanding, the deeds of valor and generosity which earliest warm our hearts, the examples of honor, patriotism and friendship, which first form our little code of morality, are drawn from the Roman republic. It has been canonized for ages by sentiments approaching adoration; and we cannot help considering the present author in the light of an *avvocato del diavolo*, who now questions its title to the honor and applause it has so long commanded. He aspires indeed to the character of a judge; but he is far indeed from the grave moderation and impartiality which authorise a solemn decision of the cause, though his address, his acuteness, his various knowledge and versatile talents, qualify him to throw great light on every part of it. He is an excellent counsel, and that love of system, of which it is peculiarly necessary to divest ourselves when we wish to pronounce with fairness, brings to our view many important observations which might have escaped a more calm enquiry. He comments on the probability of particular facts, and the consistency of the entire narrative; confronts the witnesses, exposes their contradictions, attacks their credit, or denies their sources of information. And the mortifying result of his argument is that the boasted virtues of the Romans are all traced to a period so little known and so obscurely recorded, as almost to deserve the epithet of fabulous, while the ages, of which an accurate and credible narrative has

reached us, are distinguished by corruption, tyranny, cruelty, every thing that is mischievous in politics, and disgraceful in manners.

With respect to the witnesses, it would be unjust to conceal that they do not suffer materially from his cross-examination. Livy in particular, though he, like M. Levesque, thought it right to preserve all that was reported of the early ages of Rome, is so far from stating them as certain facts, that he frequently pauses to express his doubts, often laments the deficiency of details, and the want of authority. He goes farther. In summing up the facts related in the five first books of his immortal work, he throws a doubt on the whole recital, from the defective manner in which all the records had been preserved. He frankly acknowledges them to be obscure from extreme antiquity; and hardly discernible from so great a distance as that at which he wrote, and adds another important cause of their uncertainty, the want of letters, the only sure guardian of the memory of events*. This important observation, which is alone sufficient to rescue the discernment of the great historian from the stigma cast on it by the character of many facts related by him, may be considered as the germ of the work before us; and if modern compilers had reported the statements of Livy with the same diffidence with which he made them, there would have been little room for historic doubts on the early ages of this illustrious people. The good sense, however, of the following passage, and its application to the chronicles of other nations will plead our excuse for laying it entire before our readers. Preface, p. ii.

'To establish the degree of confidence, which ought to be granted to the history of an antient people, we should inquire if they were in the familiar use of writing, or if on the contrary they had only slow and difficult processes for tracing their ideas, or were even unacquainted with any. There is no such thing as history, for a people, which cannot write; there is nothing but tradition, and the character of all tradition is to change in passing from mouth to mouth, and from age to age; to confound names, times, places, circumstances; to be incessantly overloaded with new elements; to lose all those, which formed its origin, and in the end to be no more the same. Such is the fund of the history of every time, in which there was no writing.

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* Quæ at conditâ urbe Româ ad captam eandem urbem, Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui: *res, cum vetustate nimiâ obscuratas, velut quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur; tum, quod perraræ per eadem tempora literæ fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriæ rerum gestarum:* & quod etiamsi quæ in pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensâ urbe, pleræque interiêre. Tit. Liv. l. 6. c. 1.

'The Greeks, the first people in Europe who were raised to a high point of civilization, for a long time made little use of writing; or rather, they were long ignorant of writing, and understood only the art of inscribing on stone, on wood, on lead. In consequence, continued and detailed history began with them very late,—about the time of the Median wars. They put into verse all of which they wished to preserve the remembrance, to aid the memory by rhythm and metre. Their laws were in verse, and even in verse that was sung; their morality was versified, and it was less presumptuous but wiser than that which afterwards the philosophers established; their histories were poems, and it was from these poems that historians spoke of antient events.

'The origin of wooden tablets plaistered with wax cannot be determined: they were little fitted to receive works of any extent, and still less so to ensure their preservation; and the process by which characters were traced upon them by the aid of a sharp instrument, was rather engraving than writing properly so called. When the Greeks had at last discovered a liquor proper for tracing characters, they still were long before they procured a substance capable of commodiously receiving its marks, and contented themselves with rolled skins, which they called *diphtheræ*. Herodotus informs us that these skins were in use before his time, and that when he wrote, they had been long abandoned, and the papyrus preferred. This was the only convenient substance for receiving writing known to the antients, till the invention of parchment.

'But the Greeks could not have been acquainted with it, so long as the inhospitable Egyptians rigorously excluded foreigners from their country, and refused all commerce with them. At length Psammetichus acquired the dominion of Egypt by the assistance of some Ionian and Carian pirates driven by the weather. His benefits fixed these strangers with him; and he opened the entrance of his empire to all those Greeks whom the example of their good fortune might attract. Commerce was then established between the two nations.

'One may believe that the papyrus was not one of the first articles that occupied the Grecian merchants. Some time must have passed before they had occasion to be acquainted with it, still more, before they could wish to be charged with it. Before this merchandise could excite their attention, some curious men, with minds superior to the age they lived in, must have gone into Egypt. This happened about the sixth century before our æra. Thales, Solon, other Greeks, whose names are less famous, went thither to seek more knowledge than they could as yet find in their own country, or rather to corrupt, by the false lights of Egyptian science, that purer light which Homer and Hesiod had displayed in Greece. It was not till this epoch that works began to be composed in prose, because there was no longer the same necessity to afford to the memory the aid of metre. It was then that Pherecydes, the master of Pythagoras, first wrote in prose on subjects of philosophy; that

Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos first gave the example of not enslaving history by the incumbrance of versification; andthat Pisistratus caused the writings of Homer, before dispersed, to be collected. Possibly they then first became continued works, and were then perhaps *written* for the first time;—an opinion, which at first seems paradoxical, but on fuller examination appears highly probable.

'Three centuries rolled away before this discovery reached the Romans, who had no communication with the Greeks till near the time of the expedition of Pyrrhus in Italy. They had first graven written characters on pannels of oak, they afterwards engraved them on tables of copper, they painted them on leather, at length, they bethought themselves of writing on linen. But people write very little, when they have only such inconvenient methods of writing. It appears then that they had only *fasti*, in which they recorded the names of the magistrates for the year, and apparently the principal facts which had occurred during their magistracy.'

He then goes on to observe that even if these antient annals were much more detailed than the state of writing makes it probable they were, the Gallic conflagration had swept away almost all monuments, whether of a public or private nature. What memorial then could remain at the earliest period of writing history, of the infancy of the republic, and still more of the kingly government?

In this manner M. Levesque has confirmed and expanded the observation of Livy. Nothing can be more ingenious, or, in our own opinion, more satisfactory; but let it be remembered that the observation proceeds originally from Livy. It certainly affords a fair ground for disputing every part of the early history of Rome, which is highly improbable in itself, or inconsistent with facts better authenticated. Some facts of a public nature, as treaties, decrees, &c. are placed beyond the reach of doubt, by having been recorded on brass at the time, and found so preserved in subsequent ages. But those readers who have not been in the habit of turning their minds to such enquiries will be astonished to see how many facts, long uncontroverted and unsuspected, are placed in a very doubtful light, and how many are proved to be absolutely incredible. We are under some difficulty in forming a selection, because the remarks are in a great degree connected with minute facts and uninteresting details: besides, the same want of authentic information, which leads our author to question the received account, necessarily prevents his substituting any other. It may be sufficient to observe that all the particulars of the history of Rome under her kings are considered as unworthy of credit, not only from the marvellous recitals, which are connected with it, and fairly bring the whole into disrepute, but from many apparent contradictions on the very face of the relation. The

author does not agree with those who think the duration of the monarchy shorter by a century than it is represented in the ordinary chronologies, though he strongly exposes the improbability of seven successive reigns in an elective monarchy extending to the period of 270 years: on the contrary he appears to be of opinion that the foundation of the city should be referred to a much earlier period, in order to account for that perfection in the arts, which some of the public works of that epoch prove to have been attained, but which was certainly lost in the first ages of the commonwealth.

The invasion of the Gauls in the year A. U. C. 363, is related at large—the defence of Clusium by the Fabii, the defeat of the Romans near the Allia, the consequent desertion of the city, the stern immobility of the senators, waiting to be murdered at their doors in their robes of dignity, and at first mistaken for the images of divinities by the barbarous foe, by whom they were afterwards massacred, the general resort to the Capitol, to which the enemy find access by tracing the steps of a young messenger to Camillus, the seasonable alarm given by the consecrated geese of Juno, the sale of the city for a certain weight of gold by Brennus, who would have cheated the purchasers by a false balance, and the expulsion of the Gauls at that critical moment by the arrival of their fugitive army,—all these extraordinary events are faithfully copied from the fifth book of Livy. When the narrative is finished, the critic proceeds to observe upon it, vol. i. p. 281.

'One is stopped by improbabilities at every part of the relation. Taking each circumstance separately, one might defend it, and present it as one of those facts which are out of the common order of things, but yet are not impossible; but all together are out of the class of events of which criticism can admit the existence, and belong to that of fables inspired at once by superstition and national vanity.

'From the commencement of the recital, I think I can perceive anachronisms in manners. Doubtless the Romans, when conquerors of Pyrrhus and the Carthaginians, might conceive so high an opinion of themselves as to believe that every thing ought to obey their voice: doubtless, one of their ambassadors might then inclose the king of Syria in a circle, and forbid him to quit it till he had given him an answer. But how could the three Fabii, young and imprudent as they might be, suppose that a powerful army of the Gauls would obey their first orders? Could such a presumption enter into the character of a people, who had indeed been powerful under their kings, but who, since their expulsion, had only conquered some of their neighbours, and which had just employed ten years in the siege of a town, that had easily been taken in the time of the monarchy.

'Another fault against the observation of manners, is the supposition that all the old senators expected to bend the anger of the gods, by devoting themselves to death, and that sitting motionless on their curule chairs, they waited for the blow that was about to strike them. This self devotion is not in the character of their age. Superstition, and even patriotism, which sometimes degenerates into superstition, may introduce enthusiasm into a few ardent heads, but not into a great number of heads cooled by old age.

"Can we believe that the Gauls, ignorant as we must suppose them, could at first have mistaken these senators for statues of the divinities? Could those old men, in their immoveable state, repress even the motion of the breath, and that of the eyelids? Plutarch here abandons Livy, and contents himself with saying that they regarded these motionless senators as superior men. *But since all that remained in Rome received death on that day of blood, how can it be known* that it was the senator Papyrius, who first irritated the enemy, by striking a disrespectful Gaul? Plutarch might as well have declined to copy Livy in this instance also.

'The footsteps of the young Pontius indicated to the Gauls the road which he had passed, and taught them to follow in their turn. They did not want this instruction: for Livy, whom Plutarch has had the prudence not to translate in this place, relates that after the voyage of Pontius, C. Fabius Dorso had descended from the Capitol to offer a sacrifice on the Quirinal hill, and dressed in sacerdotal robes and bearing the sacred things in his hand, he passed through the midst of the Gallic guards.— As this pious voyage was made in open day, they might observe the road taken by the pontiff.

'Lastly, the Gauls mounted in the night time. We are told that the sentinels did not hear them, and that the very dogs were mute. The geese consecrated to Juno betrayed them by their cries, and the flapping of their wings. In this event we discover a miracle: the goddess chose to reward the piety of the Romans, who, in the horror of famine, devoutly nourished her geese, instead of eating them.

'I will not raise any doubt on the capitulation made with Brennus, nor even as to the gold which they consented to pay him, particularly if we reduce the quantity.—I will admit that the sword was thrown in, to increase the weight of the bason: it is a trait of Gallic gaiety, of which that La Hire would have been capable, who said that if God had been a gen'd'arme, he would have been a plunderer. The phrase "væ victis"—woe to the conquered, is pregnant with meaning and inspired by the circumstances.'

After remarking the improbability of the too seasonable arrival of Camillus at the very crisis of his country's destiny, he thus sums up his opinion on the whole account, p. 287.

'The Gauls took Rome, and retired by capitulation: this can-

not be doubted. It is too great an event not to have left deep traces, and tradition would be sufficient to preserve the remembrance of it. All the rest is a fable, founded partly on uncertain traditions, and partly invented by the patricians.'

The above passage is a fair specimen of our author's style of argument and observation. It shews him as he often appears to be, disposed to push his reasoning to an extreme, and sometimes to weaken a point, by labouring it too much. The remark which we have printed in italics is quite sufficient to disprove the incredible story of the senators who waited to be butchered, and the other arguments are as superfluous as were the ninety-nine remaining reasons of the officer for not doing what he was required, when he had set out with declaring it impossible.—We also see in this extract a disposition to flatter the ruling power in France, and keep the public opinion attached to a monarchical form of government, by observing that the republic was a much less formidable power than the monarchy had been. And we may perceive a still more direct mode of pleasing the vanity of his countrymen, in the eulogies which are here and in many other parts of the work, most lavishly bestowed on their Gallic ancestors. And an opportunity is afforded us of pointing out that, though the Gauls are decidedly the favourites of our author, yet there is a general disposition to embrace the cause of every nation and every army, which is at any time arrayed against the power of Rome. The name of *Brennus* is supposed to be a generic term for a captain, and not the name of an individual, otherwise the victorious chief, who is so designated by the Roman writers, would probably have been the prominent hero of these volumes: but Hannibal, Viriatus, Spartacus, all in short who are found in arms resisting the republic, are mentioned with a degree of esteem and partiality, for which they appear to be less indebted to their respective merits, than to the aversion entertained by the historian against their haughty foe.

From the commencement of the second Punic war, we find the evidence clearer, and the narration more intelligible. The questionable reports which were inserted in it by the pride of Rome bear but a small proportion to the general mass of events, and the 'sage Polybius' will always secure us from serious error. The whole series of events from this period to that of the civil wars is related in the present work with equal spirit and judgment; and few portions of history are more abundant in entertainment, interest, and instruction. The character of the Carthaginian commonwealth is successfully vindicated from many of the dreadful imputations cast on it by the Roman historians, from whom alone we have taken our reports of that

powerful adversary. The progress of Hannibal is traced with the most partial admiration, and we cannot forbear transcribing the observations on the battle of Cannæ, for the sake of the curious, though endless, speculations, to which it naturally gives birth. Vol. ii. p. 116.

'After the battle, Maharbal said to him, "Do you know what you have gained? In five days, you will sup at the capitol. Go with the cavalry, and arrive, before you are known to be on the march." Hannibal praised the counsel of Maharbal, but added that it required time to reflect on it. Maharbal replied, "The gods have not given every thing to all men. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not how to take advantage of a victory."

'Polybius says that on hearing of the fatal battle of Cannæ, the Romans themselves thought their power destroyed, and that, in their consternation, they expected Hannibal every moment.

'If then he had arrived at the same time with the dreadful report, before the senate had had time to deliberate, at the time when the citizens wished to fly, and it was necessary to place guards at the gates to prevent their departure; if he had shewn himself at the gates of Rome, when she heard that she had no longer an army, who can believe that those gates would have been shut against him? Who could have prevented his entrance? Would it be prevented by those old men who composed the senate, who would have had no time for concert, or union of counsel? Or by the people without chiefs, without arms, and plunged in depression?—And if Hannibal had once been master of Rome, who could have chased him from it, when he had dispersed the senators: when the piquets had invested the forum, and prevented the assembling of the people; when the least project of insurrection would have been punished with death; when the allies would have declared for the conqueror; when the majority of them, knowing the weight of the Roman yoke, and not yet knowing that of Carthage, would have thought their liberty recovered? Astonishment would have begun the work; the politic caresses of Hannibal would have completed it; time would have consolidated it, if the conquerors had acted with prudence. We may believe then that Maharbal was not mistaken, and that Hannibal knew not how to take advantage of victory. Whatever may be said of the great character of the Romans, the people are every where the same; conjunctures only make the difference. They are haughty, when circumstances gave them a great idea of their power and inspire them with enthusiasm: they are base, when circumstances only leave them the impression of their weakness. Florus perhaps has only transmitted to us the opinion of the most judicious Romans, when he has not feared to affirm, without any hesitation, that the day of Cannæ would have been the last of Rome, if Hannibal had understood how to take advantage of victory, as well as how to conquer. Livy had also said that it was generally believed that the delay of a single day had saved the republic.——'The Roman

name would perhaps have ceased to be. Italy, divided into small states, would not have been one power, or united under the denomination of Carthage, it would have become a Carthaginian power, and the whole history of Europe, from that epoch to our own times, would have been very different from what it is. Perhaps this part of the world would not yet have been civilised; perhaps its civilisation, its sciences, and its arts would have been different; for it received every thing originally from the Romans, who had received every thing from the Greeks.'

This concluding sentence, is considerably at variance with an opinion which is elsewhere expressed by the author, of the high degree of civilization which the rival people had attained at the time of its destruction. And there appears to be no reason for imagining that so great a maritime power as Carthage would not have established a constant intercourse with Greece, at that time the most cultivated nation on earth. The great difference in the result would probably have been the more general diffusion of a commercial spirit, and a great diminution of the dreadful trade of war.

We cannot take a final leave of the bloody field of Cannæ, without extracting a short but very striking passage, in which a reluctant homage is paid to the magnanimity of the Roman senate. Every one knows that the calamity was occasioned by the rashness of Terentius Varro, the plebeian consul, who had obtained that dignity by the lowest arts of popularity. He saved himself in the hour of defeat with difficulty, at the head of a small body of men; his colleague, Æmilius Paulus, the favourite of the senate, was among the slain. But that august body disdained to reproach the unhappy survivor, and his return to the city, whose existence he had endangered, is thus related: Vol. ii. p. 123.

'The consul was called to Rome. He had left the city with the acclamations of the populace, and his colleague had alone received honors on the part of the senate. The same senators, after a defeat which he had drawn upon himself, thought themselves bound to respect in him both his misfortune and the dignity of the only magistrate that Rome had preserved. They went forth to meet him, and thanked him for not having despaired of the safety of the republic.'

When M. Levesque arrives at the period of the civil war, which ended in the destruction of the republic, he assumes the tone, and writes in the spirit of a mere party-man. Perhaps the late events in France are by him regarded as parallel to the revolutions of Rome, and he may think that his defence of the perpetual dictator of antient times extends to the founder of

the imperial dynasty, which gives the law to modern Europe. In relating the events, which paved the way for those fatal dissensions, he is extremely severe on the weakness, inconstancy, and vanity of Pompey, condemns all the measures taken by the senate for securing their own authority, and the permanency of the existing constitution, and throws a veil over all that was suspicious in the conduct, and perfidious in the designs of Cæsar. He maintains that originally he had no views upon the liberties of his country, but that his multiplied attacks on the senatorial authority, and his continual exertions to introduce innovations and overrule the force of the established laws, were prompted by the most disinterested wish to promote the unlawful ambition of Pompey, to whom he believes Cæsar to have been attached by the ties of pure friendship. We cannot help thinking these opinions preposterous, and in this part of the work both the facts and the observations are to be very narrowly watched. Again, when he speaks of the behaviour of the conqueror, after the battle of Pharsalia, he finds nothing but subjects of unbounded panegyric. The addition of six hundred to the number of senators, and the promotion of new men to the highest honors, are discussed with the respectful delicacy which might be expected from a member of the legion of honor. And in speaking of that awful lesson to tyrants and usurpers, which was given on the ides of March by Brutus, Cassius, and their comrades, when private citizens assumed that authority of punishment of which the criminal himself had disarmed the law, he has no better title to bestow on the last of Romans, than those of murderers and assassins. Of the usurpation of Cæsar he mildly and courteously observes, that 'that great man was fully sensible of the necessity *for changing the form of government*.' After all, his laboured justification is far from being satisfactory, and we really think the case of Napoleon stands on a better footing than that of Julius. Happy, if in imitating the seductive example of his fortunate crime, he had shewn himself capable of the magnanimous policy of converting his enemies by clemency. On this most attractive feature in the character of Cæsar, we meet with an observation so wise and just, that we have pleasure in transcribing it. Vol. iii, p. 220.

'It may be said that Cæsar was merciful, through policy, and that even this letter * proves it. Rather let us say that his policy

* The letter inserted by Cicero in that from himself to Atticus, which is placed the eleventh in the ninth book of his Epistles.

received its impression from his character. It was because his heart was humane, that he thought sound policy invited him to humanity. It was also from policy, but with a very different character, that Pompey wished to triumph with cruelty. Policy is a noble thing, when it counsels a noble conduct.'

The summary of Cæsar's character is not drawn up with peculiar originality or force; and the writer's resolution to find nothing to praise in the republic, and nothing to blame in those who established, or contributed to establish, an imperial power in Rome, is pushed to such an extent, that it becomes ludicrous. Mark Antony, while the creature of Julius, is held up to our admiration and esteem; no sooner does he becomes the rival of Augustus, than he is represented in the most degrading light. The triumviral proscriptions are palliated with excessive charity. After enumerating the bloody contests of the three profligate colleagues in the oppression of their country, M. Levesque most feelingly exclaims, "Such was the series of calamities which was produced by the murder of Cæsar,"—when it would have been quite as just to ascribe them to the usurpation which provoked his death, as to that event itself; and when it was impossible to doubt that, from whatever cause his death had proceeded, and at whatever time it might have arrived, it must in the nature of things, have given rise to the most eager disputes between the patriots, who wished to restore the commonwealth, and the servile followers of the dictator, who would set up a claim of succession to his authority. It is then asserted that the monarchy of Rome was vicious *because it sprung from a vicious republic*; not because the minds of the emperors were intoxicated, and their hearts hardened by the possession of supreme power; nor because their dread of men who had once been free, and might resume their rights, alarmed them into acts of wanton cruelty.—We are sorry that so able a writer should have been betrayed into reflections thus partial and unjust, and which so manifestly tend to deprive history of its powers of moral and political instruction. And to prove that our censure is not lightly thrown out, we will add under this head, that an elaborate apology is offered for the character of Tiberius.

It is scarcely necessary to pronounce a formal judgment on the general merits of this work, after having so freely animadverted on a large portion of its contents. The scrutiny into the early history of Rome is most ably and acutely carried on; and the several wars in which she was engaged, from her second rupture with Carthage to the time of Julius Cæsar, are related with force, distinctness, and animation. The appearance of that illustrious person on the stage of public affairs, ac-

companied, as we suspect, by a secret assimilation to the recent circumstances of France, has given a false colouring to the medium through which our author has contemplated the history of the civil wars. But on this part of the subject, the testimony of numerous historians may be constantly referred to, for the purpose of correcting his statements; while in regard to the two earlier periods, his observations will be found most valuable in appreciating the evidence of many facts, which have hitherto been too easily admitted.

The whole work is interspersed with frequent comments on the constitution of government; the political maxims, and the moral character, of the antient Romans. The first was unquestionably faulty in the extreme, while the popular and senatorial orders had opposite interests, and undefined powers, without the possibility of mediation between them. We should be naturally led by this train of reflection to consider the general nature of mixed governments, (at once the most delicate and the most important subject in the science of politics) if we had not already detained our readers so long on the present article.

For the same reason, we must decline entering at large into the observations on the political maxims of Rome. Indeed our opinion would not be different from that here professed; but it is here perhaps only fair to point out the barbarous state of the world, as affording some justification to the violence of their external policy. Their ungenerous and impolitic oppression of the provinces is hardly reprobated with sufficient severity.

Their moral character is unjustly traduced. One great mistake runs through all that is here brought forward on this subject. The examples of what Dr. Young calls 'doing right in stern despight to nature,' as the sacrifice of paternal affection to the sense of an imperious duty of a higher nature, are quoted as proofs of habitual harshness and ferocity in the Roman character; whereas it is clear that they are always considered as great exceptions demanded by extraordinary conjunctures.

Magnum aliquid dubiâ pro libertate—and the very nature of their transcendant merit, which consisted in the sacrifice of men's natural feelings, shews how much those feelings must have been cherished on common occasions. No comparison with modern times can here be properly instituted, because no act of an individual could now produce the effect, which might be derived in the small society of an infant republic, in a barbarous age from the seasonable sacrifice of tenderness to patriotism or public justice.

Holding these unfavourable sentiments of the Romans, M.

Levesque is indignant that any parallel should have been drawn between them and his countrymen. Yet we doubt whether they might not challenge the French of modern times, on any one of the three grounds, on which they are most violently attacked. Their morals, though of a very different cast, were probably not much more open to uncharitable interpretations; their republican constitution, was at least of a stronger *stamina* than that of our neighbours, if we judge of the duration of both; and their conduct to other nations can hardly be thought more violent than hat which has lately been endured by Switzerland and Prussia, Spain and Portugal. M Levesque, however, disclaims all participation with the Roman character, and devoutly imprecates on England the curses attached to an admiration of it.

Dii meliora piis, erroremque *hostibus* illum!

At such a time, and from such a quarter, we accept the omen: and we trust this prophecy will be confirmed, if ever the long anticipated struggle shall arrive, by our emulation of antient Rome, in firmness, courage, union, and the unconquerable love of liberty.

ART. II.—*Versuche, über den Einfluss Galvanischen, &c.*

An Enquiry into the Effects of Galvanism, in ascertaining the Influence of certain Poisons or Medicines, upon the Irritabiliy of the Animal Body. By Frederick Pilger, formerly a Captain of Dragoons in the Austrian Service, now a Veterinary Surgeon in the Principality of Hesse. 8vo. Darmstadt.

HITHERTO we have seen the effects of galvanism applied to one branch of the animal œconomy only, and the subject has been familiarized to every class of readers by the numerous publications of those who have directed their attention to this curious and novel department of science.—Their experiments however seem to have been confined to the demonstration of this principle, namely, that muscular irritability continues for several hours after an animal has ceased to live, and that galvanism affords the means of exciting this irritability in a more decisive manner than any other stimulant.

We know that all experiments of this description have succeeded best, and the vibrations produced in the muscles have been strongest when the animal has died or rather has been killed suddenly, the muscles in this case being fresh and vigo-

rous. For this reason, when the effects of galvanism are to be proved on the human subject after death, those miserable beings who have suffered death by the hands of the executioner are generally c osen, and the success of the experiment has been allowed to depend entirely upon their bodies being submitted to the galvanic influence as soon as the fatal injunctions of the law were complied with. The shocks experienced by the animal economy are then brisker, and more general* than those obtained upon a subject which has died perhaps in an hospital, after a tedious disease, or after one of such a nature as to exhaust the system. It was natural to conclude from this difference, that when the irritability excited by galvanism was feeble, the antecedent disease, or the remedies administered had already in a great measure exhausted this irritability: hence the galvanic test might, to a certain extent, measure the degree of irritability possessed by an animal body at the moment of death.

The author of these Enquiries goes still farther: he believes that galvanism may be employed in order to ascertain the effects of particular poisons, or of certain medicines upon the irritability of the system. With this view he has made numerous experiments, and if not more interesting, they are unquestionably of more direct utility than any yet published. The topic has the merit of appearing before the public in a new dress, and M. Pilger's example may perhaps stimulate some enlightened experimentalist to apply his knowledge of pathology and the materia medica to the perfection of a branch of science which seems to promise much and of which we know too little.

M. Pilger had begun his career as a disciple of Galvani by a course of experiments upon frogs and rabbits: but the calamities of war having rendered great number of horses unserviceable, and which were afterwards killed, he experimented upon these in preference to lesser animals, which besides, were less analogous in structure to the human subject. His first object was to ascertain, by means of galvanism applied immediately

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* *Aldini*, when in London, used to say that he would undertake under certain circumstances to restore animation to any person who had been executed.—Dr. Sömmering one of the German illuminati has outstripped the modest Italian.—Captivated with the success of some puerile galvanic experiments he has written a large quarto in which he denies the total extinction of *sensibility* by decapitation! He does not leave his readers long in the dark as to the meaning of this word *sensibility*. He tells us that he once bargained with a criminal for his head to be delivered after the executioner had severed it from his body. The doctor galloped home with his purchase—irritability was excited by the galvanic battery: he then called upon the criminal three times by his name, the head and eyes immediately turned round to the direction from which the voice came.—*Credat Judæus Apella!*

after the death of the animal, the influence or effect of different poisons on the irritability of the system. In this view he administered to a horse at the longest practicable interval after feeding,—either the poison or the remedy the effects of which he wished to ascertain. These were given in such doses as were deemed capable of producing a powerful and striking effect, either instantaneously or after an interval. He then carefully observed the pulse of the animal—its degree of heat, the colour of the tongue and nostrils—the respiration—dilation or contraction of the pupils—motion of the limbs—natural evacuations, urine and dung—state of appetite, &c. As soon as the dose appeared to produce a sensible effect, or when it had been given sufficiently long to afford ground for presuming that, although no apparent or external effect was produced it had nevertheless exerted all its operative power on the irritability of the system, or when, through the effects of the poison, or the induced disorder, the horse appeared to be dying—he was killed.

As soon as the animal appeared to be completely dead, a part was immediately skinned—it was generally that which covered the plexus brachialis, so as to expose all the nerves of the part, together with those which bordered on the fore leg. These nerves, and the adjoining muscles were operated on—viz. placed in contact with silver or gold leaf on the one side, and a plate of zinc on the other. These metals were afterwards made to communicate with each other, either immediately, or by a copper wire, or some other metallic conductor, and by those means, any particular muscle was put in a state of contraction. The greater or lesser degree of these contractions, compared with those produced by similar means on an animal of the same species, and every way circumstanced alike, except that of having taken the medicine or the poison determines to what degree the irritability of the animal has been increased or diminished by the effect of the particular dose administered.

But care should be taken to commence this process speedily, lest the nerves should be unfavourably affected, or the blood dried by the air; and frequently to cleanse the plates of zinc to prevent an accumulation of oxygen, circumstances which greatly injure the effect of galvanism, and lead to false and precipitate conclusions—for instance, by attributing to the doses previously administered an apparent diminution or increase of the irritability, which in fact is entirely owing to the manner of operating.

It is to be further observed, that lean horses, those which are chiefly kept upon oats, and those which feed in dry, cold, or elevated situations, are more liable to the effects of galvanism, than

those that are fat, or kept upon hay, straw, grass, roots, or who feed in low, wet, or marshy grounds. From these causes the Hungarian horses are susceptible of stronger contractions than those of Friesland.

It is with reference to these various considerations that Mr. Pilger thinks he can estimate the greater or lesser effect produced on the irritability of horses, by the different medicines or poisons which he administered previous to his killing them, and applying the galvanic influence.

The different substances by means of which he attempted to ascertain the above influence, were arsenic, corrosive sublimate, muriate of *barytes*, emetic tartar, orpiment, camphire, opium, bella-donna, water-hemlock, cherry-bay, yew (taxus baccata) water-fennel (phelandrium aquaticum), æther or sulphuric acid, vinegar, sea salt, ipecacuanha, wine, phosphorus, valerian, vanilla, &c. &c.

All these substances being frequently employed in medicine as remedies and some of them acting as poisons, and producing dreadful effects, it was important to determine, as far as practicable, their respective influences on the animal economy. It will perhaps be objected that, in order to ascertain this by direct experiments, it is necessary these should be made upon men and not upon horses, because it is very possible that there exists no relation between the human and the brute creation with respect to the origin of diseases.

'Let us not calculate hastily, on this head,'—says Mons. P. 'Without doubt the simple life of animals, their nudity, their constant exposition to the air, the strength of their nerves, and the light circulation of their blood, modifies in them the varieties of disease; but their diseases proceed originally from similar causes, and are of the same nature as those of men. If the state of the atmosphere subject the latter to inflammatory diseases, horses and horned cattle are liable to be affected in the same manner—the exhalation from marshy grounds will cause in them, as in us, intermittent fevers.—They also, as we, are subject to rheumatisms and fluxes in consequence of obstructed perspiration, and the humidity of stables produces in horses glandular obstructions and ulcers.

'With respect to medicines;—spirits, bitters, astringents, and neutral salts, produce the same effects upon horses as upon men. It is not, however, the same with respect to poisons and narcotics. A horse will stand, in one dose, and without injury, six grains of sublimate, ten grains of arsenic, two drams of tartar emetic, one ounce of opium, four ounces of bella donna, two ounces of water-fennel, and several other strong vegetable stimulants, in large doses. But they cannot support vinegar or other acids. One pound of concentrated vinegar is sufficient to destroy a horse, and with the most frightful symptoms of agony.

'These exceptions, however, do not preclude the consideration, that in general the effects of medicine or poison on a horse may be regarded as analogous to those on a man, in as much as in general the difference lies more in the *quantity* given than in the thing itself. A greater quantity of arsenic or of sublimate is necessary to destroy a horse than a man, with reference to the dissimilarity of size; however by augmenting the dose of these poisons the life of the horse is as certainly destroyed as that of the man, and the accompanying symptoms of the destruction of the animal economy are of the same nature in both. There is therefore reason to suppose, that in general all those agents which are found decidedly to augment or diminish the irritability of the system in the one, will also produce corresponding effects in the other.'

Taking all this for granted, we shall proceed to consider M. Pilger's experiments.

1. One of the substances which appeared to have the greatest effect on the animal economy, either as a medicine or a poison, was the *white oxyd* of *arsenic*. We know that in large doses it will speedily kill a human being, with symptoms of great inflammatory irritation of the stomach and intestines, and also of great agitation and disorder, generally, in the functions of the nervous system, spasms, convulsions, delirium, &c. In very small doses, continued for some time, it has been used with success in intermitting fevers, and sometimes also in obstinate complaints in the head, in cancers, &c. We are ignorant, however, whether it be perfectly correct to say, that the white oxyd of arsenic is frequently employed with success for internal diseases. Fowler's solution of arsenic, which is the most used of any preparation of the kind, is neither composed of arsenic itself, nor of the white oxyde of that metal. It is a neutral salt, in which the white oxyde of arsenic is neutralised by potash, and as the properties of compound bodies differ materially from their elemental natures, it is probable that the effects of the arseniate of potash are very different from those of the regulus of arsenic or of its simple oxyde. We cannot suppose that the properties of nitre (nitrate of potash), are in the least similar to those of nitrous acid: nor those of Glauber's salts (sulphate of soda) with those of concentrated sulphuric acid. Why then should not the effects of the arseniate of potash, and those of the substance itself be discriminated? We regret, therefore, that Mons. P. had not tried the first of these preparations in preference, as it is by far the most frequently employed as a medicine.

In the way of external application, we know that the white oxyde of arsenic acts as a violent caustic. We must naturally suppose, that it will greatly augment the irritability of the system. Yet a horse, to which had been given, at first, one grain four

times a day, and afterwards, more than forty doses in the thirty-five following days, at the end of which he had consumed three drams, without any apparent sensible effects, manifested on the galvanic experiments, after death, very slight indications of irritability—the motions were very feeble, or rather the muscles were merely agitated, and the effect entirely ceased at the end of about six minutes.

In the case of another horse, which was treated in a similar way, with this exception, that the arsenic was administered in a lesser quantity, and continued for a shorter interval, the muscular motions were considerably stronger, but still far short of those exhibited in life.

Lastly, A third horse, received in one dose forty grains, from this little more resulted than a slight colicky affection. The next day eighty grains were given, and he died in an hour after. The process of galvanism produced no indication of irritability in this subject.

It is not a little extraordinary that orpiment, which is merely a sulphuret of arsenic, produces no effect on horses.*

With regard to orpiment, it has been administered on two successive days, in doses of an ounce at each time, to an old mare, which was not in the least affected by it. On her being killed, the galvanic process was applied, and the irritability of the system was found to be neither increased nor diminished.

2. But, as pure arsenic evidently diminishes, it should appear that corrosive sublimate, which upon the human system has effects nearly as destructive as those of arsenic itself, should produce effects somewhat similar upon horses. Nevertheless, a horse, which had taken in the interval of fourteen days 112 grains in doses gradually augmented, and was then killed, exhibited, on the application of galvanism, a very striking degree of muscular agitation. It was the same in the instance of another horse, which had received a dram of it in a single dose, and died at the expiration of forty-six minutes. In both these cases the muscular motion was continued twenty-seven minutes after death.

To what cause then is this striking difference between those poisons to be attributed? If the arsenic had been given in one large dose, or altogether, we should have some reason to infer that the irritation which it must produce would have been

* On this occasion, we have to repeat our foregoing remark, viz.—The properties of compound bodies differ essentially from those of their elemental parts. The combinations of sulphur with metallic substances, have in general very little effect on the animal economy. Thus æthiops and cignabar which are *sulphurets* of mercury, are almost inert preparations, while the oxydes and mercurial salts are highly active in their operation.

sufficiently strong to destroy the irritability of the system, and produce that indirect weakness, which according to the Brunonian system is the immediate consequence of all excessive stimulants. But as it has had the same effect on the irritability of horses, whether administered in large or in small doses, at different times, or altogether; and as the influence of the poison was found, in the three experiments, to be only in proportion to the whole quantity the animal had taken, such an inference must be inadmissible.

3. The muriate of barytes, the influence of which upon the human system has not been yet satisfactorily determined, but which after producing very sensible effects, especially upon glandular tumours, appeared rather to augment it; has, on the contrary appeared to diminish that of horses. Such was the effect, whether by giving the animal a dose of two drams at once, his death took place at the end of four hours; or after administering to him four doses of sixty grains each, for fourteen successive days, he was killed. The movements produced by the galvanic experiment, more resembled tremulous agitations, than true muscular motion.

4. We know that horses are not susceptible of vomiting; emetics, however, affect them strongly. A dose of an half ounce of tartar emetic was given to a horse. It produced immediately strong spasms, a general perspiration, and a continual obstruction of breathing.—He was killed in about an hour in the midst of his sufferings. The galvanic operation produced considerable movements. Thus tartar emetic which has been administered in small doses with so much success in febrile complaints, in order to *diminish* the irritability of the arteries and the heart, is found, when given in a large dose to produce the contrary effect, on the muscles of a horse.

5. In another point of view, we see that *camphor*, which is given in nervous affections, and malignant fevers, as an anti-spasmodic capable of greatly diminishing the irritability of the system, appears to act upon horses not only in a very different but an unequal manner. Half an ounce given to this animal in one dose, has produced speedily a rapid pulsation, a straining and prominency of the eye, and all the signs of a much increased irritability. When killed, the galvanic process has a strong and sensible effect, and induces a correspondent motion for more than forty minutes, and the irritability subsides by degrees. It was nearly the same in the instance of a second horse, to which was given at once six drams of this medicine, and which was killed in about two hours and a half, when the camphor began to operate: on this animal, galvanism excited permanent, convulsive, and generally rapid motions, rather than regular muscular movements. But a third, to which an

ounce was given, and had died in consequence at the expiration of five hours, was found on the application of galvanism, to have lost all his irritability—nothing but scarcely perceptible agitations were produced, and these entirely ceased in about twelve minutes after his death.

This variation is easily explained, according to the system of Dr. Brown, by the exhaustion of the irritability, which as we have already observed, proceeds from a *continued*, uniform, and excessive application of a powerful stimulus. The above are not the only proofs of the kind furnished by the experiments of M. Pilger. When he gave horses a sufficient quantity of wine or brandy to render them lively and spirited, and when he killed them in this state of elevation, the galvanic process induced very strong emotions: but when such a quantity of these liquors was given as to produce absolute intoxication, the muscular contractions were very feeble, merely a tremulous motion. It was nearly similar when a quantity of pure and concentrated vinegar was administered; of this a pound was sufficient to produce violent cramps and spasms, and fatal effects. But if the death of the animal, so produced, took place some time before the application of galvanism, the irritability was found to exist no longer, whereas if it were killed at the height of these paroxysms, a considerable degree of muscular agitation was obtained.

6. *Opium.*—This precious remedy, so often successfully employed as an antidote to pain, to produce sleep, to moderate or repress even convulsions; but which, given in large doses, induces lethargy, and often death, produces on horses a very extraordinary effect. On these it appears to act as a renovator of youth, it in a great degree obviates the infirmities of age, and these animals receive with beneficial effects prodigiously large doses. An ounce at one dose, has been given to a horse who was blind, and very much exhausted.—In about half an hour, he eat with great appetite, appeared lively, and looked quickly about him at every noise he heard, pricking up his ears, but beyond these no other effects were apparent. He was then killed, but the galvanic process only induced muscular emotion a little stronger than ordinary. A similar experiment was tried upon a horse who was young, but very lean.—The opium greatly increased his spirit, strength and appetite; on this animal galvanism had little more effect than if he had taken nothing. But on a third, worn down with age and labour, to which an ounce and an half was administered at once, it produced astonishing effects. All his faculties were reanimated—his eyes brightened with the fire of youth, his jaws were braced, the ears stood erect, and his limbs appeared to recover their youthful agility and strength—he trotted, and was in

every respect as lively as a young horse. In this state of temporary regeneration he was suffered to exist but an hour. The galvanic operation produced considerable and lively movements, and which continued very nearly an hour after death.

We cannot here avoid remarking that the assertion of some writers respecting the beneficial effects of opium employed as a counter poison to camphor, is not verified by the experiments of M. Pilger: who tried it not only upon a dog, and upon horses, but on himself. In all those cases, it appeared that opium, so far from diminishing the deleterious effects induced by excessive doses of camphor, on the contrary, always aggravated them, and in the case of horses, galvanism produced little or no effect after death, a proof that the co-operation of these two medicines when given in large doses greatly diminishes the irritability of the system.

7. If opium produces little or no effect upon horses except in very large doses, other narcotics have a correspondent or even a lesser effect upon men. The distillation of bay leaves, which upon the human species, is one of the most speedy and efficacious poisons, operates very slightly on those animals. Eight ounces have been given to a horse, without any apparent effect, he was then killed, when the galvanic process produced no extraordinary effects. To three other horses still larger doses, (nearly a pound) had been administered, and to which half a dram of the essential oil of the same vegetable was added. These doses at first seemed to impart a degree of briskness, and a keenness of appetite, afterwards they appeared heavy and inert; this affection, however, soon passed away. The application of galvanism, after the death of these animals, *produced no effect.* This is the language of the author. We are however uncertain, whether he means that they manifested positively no signs of irritability, or merely that the doses given produced no additional effect.

8. The same was experienced with respect to *water-hemlock*, which is said to be that kind of poison with which the Athenians caused the death of Socrates, and which is known quickly to induce the death of men. Eight ounces of the liquor distilled from this plant, with one dram of the essential oil, was given to two horses: little effect was produced, and after death, the galvanic experiment was attended only by very feeble movements, and these entirely ceased at the expiration of twenty minutes.

9. Belladonna has still less efficacy upon horses. They eat it as they do hay. M. Pilger tried it as a medicine with horses affected with indurated glands. He gave them as much as weighed four ounces per day, with an equal quantity of grass, during four successive weeks, without observing any extraordi-

nary effect. Anxious to ascertain its efficacy in very large doses, he gave to two horses eight ounces of the root in powder, and two ounces of the essential oil as fresh as possible. Still no effects were apparent, and after death galvanism produced no extraordinary effect.

10. It was, however, very different with respect to another plant, which although it has not been used as a medicine for the human species, has always been considered as strongly operative on the animal economy, viz, the *yew*, (*taxus baccifera*.) Of this the whole of a young tree was given to two horses. They eat it with great appetite, and shortly after they became feeble and heavy, their legs spread as if to preserve them from falling, the pupils were dilated, while the ball of the eyes was manifestly contracted, in a little time they fell into convulsions and died. and after death, the galvanic operation proved that their irritability was quite destroyed.

11. Among the stimulants which were administered, it appeared that gentian and colocynth root although given in doses from two to three ounces—the former during several successive days, and the latter once, had little or no effect on the irritability of the system. On the horses to which these substances were given, the effects of galvanism on such as had taken the gentian were not in the least extraordinary: but in the cases of those which had taken the colocynth they were weaker, and of less duration than usual.

12. The flowers of arnica, the seeds of water-fennel (*phellandrium aquaticum*) a medicine which German physicians have recommended in the last stages of asthma and consumption, constantly produced a great irritability of the system, and the application of galvanism after death excited forcible and long continued movements.

13. *Valerian*, which is so successfully administered in nervous affections as a tonical antispasmodic, produced a great effect on those horses on which M. Pilger tried it. The briskness and duration of the movements produced by galvanism were greatly increased in consequence of its being previously given. Those horses to whom three or four ounces had been administered at one time, displayed a very extraordinary degree of briskness and activity: it was, however, not found accompanied by any symptoms of inflammation.

We have thus endeavoured to follow M. Pilger through his interesting experiments, and we have to express our obligations for the services he has rendered to science by his publication. Those of our readers who are acquainted with the means used to promote the diffusion of knowledge throughout Germany, will not be surprised at the publication of a work on medical science from the pen of a captain of dragoons. Al-

though many of the experiments may excite feelings of commiseration for the miserable animals which were the subjects of them, M. Pilger seems to be a man of more than ordinary humanity, and frequently expresses his regret at the sufferings of his victims, a regret, he assures us, which was only alleviated by the hope that his labours might perhaps be rewarded by a general benefit to mankind.

ART. III.—*Memoires particuliers, &c.*

Private Memoirs, extracted from the Correspondence of a Traveller with the late M. Caron de Beaumarchais, in Poland, Lithuania, White Russia, Petersburgh, Moscow, the Crimea, &c. Containing new Observations on the military Power of Russia, her Finances, her Manners and Customs, &c. Published by M. D—— Hambourg *and* Paris. 1807.

'IN the year 1787,' says the Editor in his Preface, 'a powerful commercial house of Marseilles, united both in business and friendship with the late M. Beaumarchais, made an attempt to realise some ancient ideas of trade with the southern frontiers of Poland. Circumstances presented new *facilities* of which these able merchants would have profited had not a certain person, then in power, on whose co-operation it was necessary for them to depend, ruined by his private arrangements hopes which ought not perhaps to have been founded on his well known character. The Editor of these letters cannot allow himself to enter into the details of an operation which belongs to those who conceived it; but he is able, without impropriety, to state that it was designed to have brought down by the Dniester into the Black Sea, all the exportable commodities of the Polish provinces. A young merchant was sent to the spot. He was to have established at Akermann a house of trade to be united with houses at Constantinople and Marseilles. The object of his mission was frustrated by the arrangements of the person whom we just mentioned; and he then employed himself about other affairs which detained him several years in Poland and Russia.'

From this it should appear that the commercial plan proposed by general Joris and communicated from him by the traveller to the house of Beaumarchais, of which we have somewhat of a detailed account in the last letter of this selection, was an idea subsequent to that on which he was originally dispatched; although this also related to the navigation of the Dniester, and contained a proposal for the establishment of a factory or commercial depôt on the banks of the Euxine. Part

of the design of the publication is probably to submit this plan in a respectable manner to the consideration of Napoleon le Grand; but how far his present connexion with Russia may enable him to carry it into execution is a question which we cannot answer any more than how long that connexion may subsist. There is no question as to the very weighty advantages that their conquests may draw from a *permanent* alliance with Russia, and in his present want of a maritime force, this very plan may be calculated to produce some of the most important results. We appear in many instances to have fallen into fatal errors respecting the real power of Russia, and to have contemplated her as a great military empire (which she is not) neglecting, what she really possesses, the means, in a commercial view, of most materially injuring us, and yet more materially benefiting our implacable rival. Perhaps, however, the time has already gone by in which Bonaparte could take advantage of the *facilities* (as the French politicians say) afforded by a Russian alliance. God grant it may be so! and that we shall in future have more wisdom than to risk the loss of a most useful friend for the acquisition of a few rotten hulks.

The work before us was apparently published soon after the commencement of the campaign in Poland. The editor, who is an excellent courtier, tells us he has omitted all that part of the correspondence which related to the government of Poland, because in contemplating the alterations which it is about to undergo under the Napoleon dynasty, we necessarily lose all interest in objects so remote and obscure. 'The fate of Poland is about to change, and every thing presages that a government conformable at once to the interests of the people and to the wise policy of that great man who is employed in ruling them, will soon rejoice and re-create these *beautiful* regions.'

There was another object in the publication; 'to reassure those who are afraid, or pretend to be afraid, that the present war with Russia will be dragged out to a tedious length.' We must indeed give our traveller the full credit of having discovered, fifteen years ago and upwards, a fact to which our politicians seem to have been wilfully blind, and which, after the fatal experience of Friedland we doubt not many will still be hardened enough in their prejudices to deny; that *Russia is not a great military power.* 'It is impossible,' he says, 'for Russia to support a war of any length against a potent nation.' This assertion is not only justified by events, but founded on the most self-evident principles. It was made at a time when no events had happened to justify it, by a person who had no interest in making it, and addressed to persons who had no interest in believing it, at a time when Russia was in perfect

peace with France as well as England, and when there was no prospect of any events taking place to entangle her in a war with either; and it was made by a person who had nothing but common sense and common observation to guide him in making it.

'The Russian army of the line, which is described to us as being so numerous, amounts to no more than 250,000 men in time of peace; and to raise it in time of war to 350,000 requires considerable efforts and a degree of severity in the levies of recruits so great as to be extremely inconvenient and not quite safe. I know that in war-time, they can add to these forces about 100,000 animals, equally base and ferocious, who are united under the names of Cossacks, Calmucks, Tartars, &c. I know that these wretches, without clothes, without arms, and without pay, abandon themselves to massacre, and pillage, and render their names to a certain degree formidable by burning women, children, and old men. But besides that the peasantry is in itself sufficient to exterminate these savage hordes, and to save sovereigns the trouble of sending regular forces to subdue them, it is impossible to place any real confidence in men whom you do not pay.'—'I cannot consent to value such a militia as this according to their number; and, if I allowed them for an equivalent to half the same number of regulars (a calculation very much in their favour) I should make the Russian army in time of war amount only to 400,000, spread over a territory as extensive as all the rest of Europe, and having to defend it against the Poles, the Turks, the Persians, the Swedes, and the Austrians, all of whom are the natural enemies of Russia.'

Added to this deficiency of numbers, the *unparalleled** corruption in all ranks of officers and all departments of office, and the now-acknowledged imbecility of a semi-barbarous government, will serve to complete the picture of the Russian army; and, if such were its situation in the latter years of Catherine, can we imagine that things have been much amended during the administrations of Paul and Alexander? Nevertheless we know some people who, after reading such an account of this, will continue to say,' The Russians were not beaten at Friedland. The peace of Tilsit was not a compulsory measure, but a voluntary sacrifice of the liberties of Europe.'

The recent events in Spain have raised hopes which (whatever may be their termination) are at least better founded than any which we have built on the mighty armaments of imperial Russia. If freedom ever visits Europe again, she will come,

* We venture to use the word "unparalleled," notwithstanding the recent detections made in our military departments.

'not from the north, nor from the west, nor from the east, but from the south.'

On other points the correspondence of our traveller is certainly very entertaining. His remarks are not often particularly profound; but they are generally dictated by good sense; and they are adorned with a great deal of that vivacity and sprightliness, which, though very distinct from humour, render the French style of narrative so peculiarly attractive. As a book of travels, it possesses one great disadvantage, that of having been written from fifteen to twenty years ago. The very natural curiosity of mankind which contributes to deluge the press with works of that description feeds only on novelty, and is ill satisfied with any but the very latest accounts of people and places. Keysler's travels are much better worth reading than Sir John Carr's. Yet the former are almost forgotten, while the latter are hardly to be procured at the circulating libraries from the number of applications.

After describing the inns of Poland, and the persons and manners of the beastly Jews who keep them, all which the reader will doubtless remember to have met with in Mr. Burnett's late account of that country, our traveller gives a few sketches of the Polish character, its habitual indolence, good-nature, and indecision. He has just given some account of Grodno, 'the ugliest and dirtiest of all great towns; and then proceeds;

'As for Wilna it is quite a different thing: the town is much larger, better built, and contains a numerous and select society. Many rich proprietors either retire to that place or frequently visit it and enrich it by their residence or their visits. When Prince Radzivil Palatine of Wilna comes there, or passes through it at the time of the contracts, he is followed by 4, or 5,000 men for his escort. I have elsewhere spoken to you of the originalities of this singular Sarmatian (whom you must not confound with Prince Michael Radzivil) *Castellan* of Wilna, an amiable, polished, and enlightened man, moreover the father of a numerous and charming family. The *Palatine* possesses immense riches, the employment of which once scattered plenty over the town and its environs; now, unfortunately, his affairs are all in disorder, and will to all appearances long remain so. Some years ago a proposal was made him to clear off all his enormous debts by the felling of one of his most inconsiderable forests; he had consented to it, but recalled his consent on deliberation. 'What will become of the bears?' said he to the *œconomiste* who advised the measure; who having nothing to advance in reply, no more was thought about it, and nobody cared "what may become of tens of thousands of ruined creditors."

The character of the Russian nobility is as much distinguished for want of order and œconomy as that of the Poles for trifling,

inconsistency, and *inconsequence*. The following observations suggested by some particulars in the conduct of general Joris, a distinguished favourite of Catherine's and possessor of immense territories around the town of *Sclof* on the Russian frontier, are very *French*, but contain at the bottom a great deal of good sense.

'The lands of *Sclof* are very considerable, being worth, they say, 200,000 rubles (more than 800,000 francs) of revenue to the proprietor. With this fortune, he is almost in want, and often has not at his command a sum of money which a private person would be ashamed to stand in need of. It is true he plays, and sometimes loses much money, but he wins also in his turn, and does not pass for a man more unlucky than his neighbours. The expence of his *Corps de Cadets* is but a trifle in a country where a landed proprietor has nothing to purchase; his buildings are castles in the air, as much as the new towns in the Crimea: it is then in the inextricable disorder which surrounds him that we must seek the reason of his continual embarrassments. This sketch of the fortunes of general Joris, put it into my head to ask by what expression the word *order* was rendered in Russia; you will, no doubt, suppose that I am burlesquing when I say they have none in their language: and yet it is a fact which I warrant, and you may boldly challenge all the world to tell you, without a periphrasis, what is *order* in Russ; let me explain myself, however: by the word *order* I mean that which is called in Latin *ordo*, in German *ordnung*, for, if you mean by the word *order*, *Jussus*, oh! for that there are a thousand interpretations; they give and receive *orders* every minute; they also confer *orders* and dignities on distinguished citizens; but they know not what is that *order* which ought to reign in a house, and in every other establishment.

'May I confess to you a weakness which you are at liberty to call by what name you please: I own that this want in a language of a word in my opinion so necessary, has given me a kind of prejudice against the nation: I cannot conceive how the *word* can be wanting where the *thing* is known. I do not mean on so simple a ground and on so light a suggestion to set you against a whole people; but if, when I know them better, I find my presentiment justified, then you will allow me to say to you, like Monsieur Dacier, *Ma remarque subsiste*. In the mean while, I promise you to distrust my own sagacity; to keep my observation in reserve, and to examine all I see, just as if I never had made it.'

At Mohilow (Mohilof) circumstances gave him an opportunity, which few travellers possess, of estimating very precisely the characters and manners of the inhabitants of country towns, which in almost all nations (perhaps least of all in England) differ very materially from those of the capital, at

the same time that they form so large a proportion of the national bulk, that it is never quite fair to talk of the character of a people without giving them a full share of contemplation. It is hardly possible for the mind to be in a more degrading state of stagnation than, from the sketch here presented, we should conceive to be that of the inhabitants of Mohilow, equally destitute of the means and of the inclination of improvement. Two parties divided the town; the most *dignified* was that over which the governor (or *Namechnik*) and his mistress *Maria-Seguervna* presided; the most *entertaining* that which ranged itself under the banner of two or three private ladies, whose birth elevated them as much *above* as their want of connexion with office placed them *below* the great man's lady. These parties hated each other with the most cordial detestation, and every day passed in intrigues to diminish the rival influence, in scandal and in cards. Not a thought appears to have occupied a single mind in the place beyond these three topics. *Maria Seguervna* was vain of the remembrance of beauty, haughty, insolent, and vulgar. The *Namechnik* ignorant and stupid, swollen with the pride of office, and totally unconcerned about all the duties connected with it. The only service by which he merited the place he enjoyed was one by which (in any other country of Europe except under the government of Bonaparte) he would have merited the wheel or gallows, the murder of Peter III. which was executed by himself and one or two other equally gallant *patriots*.

Our traveller, in mentioning this circumstance of which he speaks with all due horror and detestation, both defends the character of the poor emperor (in many respects certainly very severely treated by historians,) and justifies the subsequent conduct of the empress, a species of contradiction which nobody but a Frenchman would, we think, venture upon. As in the case of the Queen of Scots, the whole world may labour in vain for ages to counteract the plain inference from this fact. She did not punish, but she rewarded, the murderers of her husband.

On his arrival at Petersburg, our traveller first discovers a new class of society which he does not hesitate to prefer (and, we doubt not, with strict justice) both to the nobility and peasantry of the nation, a class which in the present commercial state of Europe must be more or less extensive in any country, but is probably less so in Russia than any, that which he calls the higher order of the *Bourgeoisie*, composed of the great mercantile houses and of the national and foreign bankers.

From these, he enters on some long and interesting details respecting the state of the peasants whom he represents (in com-

mon with all other travellers) as being 'chattels, in every sense of the word.'

'As we say, an estate of so many acres, they say, an estate of so many peasants. If the contributions of war or the devastations of sickness carry off more than can be supplied by the common rate of reproduction, the revenue of the lord is so much diminished. Instead of saying of a man 'he is possessed of so many thousand livres of income,' they say here 'he has two or three thousand peasants.' 'The English who say that a man *is worth* three thousand guineas, meaning that he is possessed of so much, would say here that *he is worth* three or four thousand peasants; which would be at the same time a truth, and a great falsehood.'

The custom of portioning them out in different trades according to the option of the lord, and the yet more odious custom of marrying them off according to his caprice, are painted in a very amusing manner. A good account is also given of a country-wake in Ingria; but we have not room for many more quotations.

The radical vices of the church, the army, the police, and the government departments, are touched upon with some acuteness and with no sparing hand. But, being written twenty years ago, they are of little present interest compared with the details of more recent travellers. The system of education in Russia (which may be considered as the foundation of every thing else in the state) is discussed more at length and drawn with a great deal of spirit and humour. It appears that Peter the Great has either been immoderately extolled for the provisions which he made in this most essential department of policy, or that his successors, so far from improving on his plans, have paid no attention whatever to them, and suffered them to grow useless and corrupt without an effort to preserve them. The education of the Russian nobility this traveller represents to be entirely committed to a few ignorant and needy Frenchmen or other foreigners who are selected without any examination, treated only as hireling domestics, and paid just enough to enable them with tolerable oeconomy to work their passage home again at the expiration of the time for which they are engaged.

Before I give any of those instances which I am enabled to furnish on this subject, let me tell you how a Russian nobleman, who lives on his estate, proceeds when he sees his son or daughter of an age which requires what he calls *education*. He waits till the wants of his family oblige him to send some confidential servant to town. When this journey is determined on, he sends for his valet de cham-

bre. 'Iwan, says he, you must go to Petersburg to buy wine, liquors, and stuffs of such and such descriptions. You will make haste to return, and in your way back you will bring with you also a French *Outchitel* (private tutor.) You will inquire what this will come to, and make the best bargain you can.' Iwan comes to Petersburg. Of the three or four days given him for the dispatch of all his business, he spends two in drinking and diverting himself with his acquaintance. Then he makes haste to execute his commissions, and when he is ready to set off goes into any coffee-house where he is told there are some Frenchmen, and asks in a loud voice, if any body has a mind to become an *Outchitel*? Many present themselves immediately, and he chooses the best drest because he supposes him to be the best informed, which is sometimes the case. He asks him to come with him, promises him five or six hundred rubles for wages, his board and lodging, white coffee for the morning, and black for the evening; which are conditions that all *Outchitels* both male and female insist on having inserted in their contracts. The bargain is struck, and Iwan gives the man, who is about to take upon him the education of his young master, just half-an-hour to make up his bundle and come to join him at such an inn where the carriage is waiting. After some days travelling, the *Outchitel* arrives, quite knocked up with fatigue, at the place of his abode. At first they receive him graciously enough; but if, upon inspecting his wardrobe, they see any trace of the misery in which he was, perhaps, at the time of becoming instructor, they take great care to measure according to this appearance of distress or to his supposed easy circumstances the degree of consideration which he is thenceforward to enjoy. The young man whom they trust to his care is the first to judge of the rank which he holds in his master's esteem, and you may guess the consequences.'

Our traveller is a young man and runs away with a number of ridiculous stories about these instructors of youth, the police officers, and other dignified characters which have all the appearance of being no better founded than those which boys at schools and colleges are apt to pick up and retail of their masters, tutors, &c. We must not, however, do him the injustice to say that he represents them as positive facts, though perhaps he attaches more weight to them than older and graver men will think they deserve.

In the course of his residence in Russia, he takes a journey to Moscow, and gives an account of the state of society in that ancient capital, and of the general character of the inhabitants of the province, and the whole Moscovite peasantry, which forms a very pleasing contrast to the state of Petersburg and the thieves and drunkards of Ingria and the surrounding governments. He says very truly that it is absurd to talk of a *Russian character*, since no people can be more widely separated from

each other in every particular which constitutes a national character than those of the different provinces of this immense incoherent empire.

In his account of the Russian stage, he gives an anecdote of Banti (at that time a performer at the Opera of Peter-burg) which will not, we believe, be discredited by those who had the happiness of her acquaintance in England, though many will, perhaps, think it strange that our traveller affects to rank her in the *mediocre* class of performers.

'They have reason enough to say in France that great artists are very favourably received at the court of Petersburg: They pay great respect to the *mediocres* also. Signora Banti, who received from the court a sum of four thousand rubles for singing two little airs every week, thought that this treatment fell far short of her merit.

'She went one day to find the director-general of the theatres, and represented to him that she could not live on 4000 rubles, and would quit the service if they did not pay her better. The empress having answered to this threat that she was at liberty to depart whenever she should think fit, the general, intending to soften this dismissal to the Signora, said, 'the princess had remarked that she costs her as much as the generals of her army.' 'Eh bien,' answered the singer, 'qu'elle fasse chanter ses généraux!'

ART. IV.—*Reflexions Morales sur les Delits, &c.*

Moral Reflections on Public and Private Crimes, being a Sequel to the Work which obtained the Prize of Utility in 1787. *By M. Delacroix, Judge of the Civil Tribunal of Versailles, and formerly Professor of Justice (de Droit public?)* Paris. 1807.

M. DELACROIX is the author of several works, which have acquired considerable celebrity in the French metropolis; particularly his Description of the *constitutions of the principal states of Europe and the United States of America;* his French Spectator, both before and during the revolution; and the work to which the present is a sequel. His second series of Spectators, he informs us, had nearly proved fatal to their author. The original title of the last work was "Philosophical Reflexions on Civilization." Its object was to call the attention of the supreme power to the impolicy and injustice of the torture; the cruelties exercised on prisoners immured, as he tells us, "in obscure dungeons where filthy and noxious animals contended

with them for their food;" and other subjects connected with criminal jurisprudence, with the justice which is due to the unfortunate, and even to the malefactor, who is paying the forfeit of crimes regularly and judicially proved.

M. Delacroix is not of that order of writers who are distinguished for the novelty of their thoughts, or the depth of their reflections. But he uniformly pleads the cause of virtu; his style is flowing and equable, his sentiments animated, and he sometimes rises to eloquence. We may complain, perhaps, that he has put too much of ornament to subjects which require not the aid of artificial decoration, and in which the mind is seeking for instruction, rather than the imagination for amusement. The pictures of the crimes which deform the face of human society and which empoison the seats of what ought to be domestic happiness and domestic confidence, give us a dark and revolting view of human nature. When we read of parricide, of fratricide, of infanticide, a well regulated mind is apt to shrink with horror and to exclaim, can these things really be so? Whence can arise such shocking outrages? Is it the defect of education? We willingly and eagerly cling to this idea; but we fear that facts will show it to be an ill-founded hypothesis. Too often have there issued from the purest stock germs (sons we can hardly call them) ungrateful and unnatural, on whom have been vainly and prodigally bestowed the lights of reason, and the benefits of the most careful instruction. In vain have the best examples been set before their eyes; the precepts of the purest morality have been vainly impressed upon them. The more their desires have been gratified, the more insatiable have they become; and because some still remains for them to expect at the decease of a parent, their souls are absorbed in monstrous projects to accelerate the destined period of nature.

We agree with M. Delacroix that these and similar monstrosities prove some radical moral disorganization; and force society to introduce the passion of terror as a substitute for the natural and legitimate affections. But as this disorganization seems to be absolutely in many individuals incorrigible, and inherent in their very nature, all severity of punishment seems unjust, if carried beyond the necessity of self defence and self preservation. We regard a man of morals incorrigibly depraved and a mad man in nearly the same point of view; and the one we think as much the object of commiseration as the other. We do not think that in some of these essays, (for the volume may justly be entitled a series of essays) the author has been very consistent in pursuing the consequences of his own principles. Had he been so, he would, we think, have spared or have very much mitigated the extreme harshness of

the sentence he passes upon a large and unhappy portion of the feebler sex.

'It is on this perverse class that the eye of an attentive police ought to be constantly fixed; it should follow them into their most secret haunts to deprive them of the power to perpetuate calamities. Too much haste cannot be made to *extirpate* them from a world which they perpetually corrupt, and by terrific examples to preserve the rising generation. If transportation into countries at present uninhabited is the only efficacious remedy, it should be employed without delay. If you please, let every succour be given to these female corruptors of humanity, which indigence and misery may require: let the evils of banishment be softened by sacrifices of which they are little worthy: but let the ocean be made the barrier between them and the youth of the country; and let all those who would be inclined to imitate their example have before their eyes the dread and the shame of this eternal exile. Yes, as long as these pests of the human race are suffered to wander in our cities and our fields, or to follow our armies, it is in vain to look for amelioration of manners, augmentation of population, or consistency of legislation. Let me hear not of the necessity of tolerating houses of infamy in great cities, to preserve the peace of private families from the impetuosity of the passions. No desire is more imperious than hunger; and if a wise police can preserve us from the violences of the one, it will more easily secure us from the furies of the other, which are more rare.'

M. Delacroix surely overlooks an essential difference in the two cases, which he considers as parallel: hunger is usually satisfied; were it otherwise, we believe that the wisest police, backed by legions of bayonets, would hardly secure the rich from the violence of the poor. By the mediation of the class against whom he rages so furiously, the other passion is tolerably allayed too. Were this *deportation* to be seriously carried into effect, we believe in our conscience that the confusion and disorder introduced into society would be infinite. Let us not deceive ourselves. Every class in human society springs necessarily out of the civil institutions of the social body. Matters are so contrived that multitudes have it not in their power to marry. Well then, they provide for themselves as well as they can! But why all this *exterminating* fury against the weaker vessel? Are they more blameable than their corruptors? Let us not stifle the feelings of humanity against any human being, however depressed by misfortune and debased by vice. The misery of these poor creatures is great: their faults may not be small; but it dwindles into insignificance when compared to that of the perjured husband, or the adulterous wife.

We have been better pleased with the following remarks. We heartily subscribe to their truth and propriety, and recommend them to the serious consideration of writers, who are tempted to sacrifice decency to the extravagances of a wild and voluptuous imagination.

'Poets who have not known how to repress the wanderings of a depraved fancy, and have yielded to the inspirations of a licentious muse, have been justly punished by the stings of remorse. What would not the authors of the *Metromanie* and the *Pindare François* have given to have been able to purify their works from the ode and the epigrams, for which they blushed to their dying moments.

'The bard of Henry the Great never ceased to disavow the degrading descriptions, which dishonour one of his poems, I well recollect, and can fancy that I see at this moment, one who had the misfortune to be the author of a monstrous production, the name of which I dare not mention, and which, by an inexplicable fatality, too often finds its way into the hands of young people. His air was melancholy and silent; he seemed always anxious to avoid observation, and to withdraw himself from an ignominious reputation. Pleasure was for ever extinct for him, who had crouded together so many hideous pictures of voluptuous enjoyment. He would have preferred the silence of the cloister, from which he had drawn his principal characters, to the murmur which seemed to haunt him in places of public resort, where he appeared solitary and desolate.'

This picture is equally spirited and faithful, though perhaps a little too highly coloured. Modern society seems indeed to feel more sensibly infringements of decency, than of virtue itself. It is at least a homage paid to the substance when men will not suffer violations even of its form and shadow. We wish that the principle were carried to its proper extent. Would those who really regard virtue both in its form and substance unite to expel from their society all who were guilty of gross infractions of the great rules of morality, public manners, we believe, would receive a greater improvement than from all the codes of pains and penalties that were ever devised.

M. Delacroix seems an enemy to all violent innovations: things as they are is the order of the day with all connected with the court of the Tuilleries. He is therefore an advocate for the punishment of death, though adverse to all cruelty in the infliction of it. There is but little merit in this display of leniency, since the public opinion of all Europe has already condemned as an outrage of human nature all acts of needless cruelty at public executions. Mons. D. grounds his defence of capital punishment on the extreme depravity of human nature, a defence in which we fear there is too much truth. Certainly in

point of justice what an individual may lawfully do in self-defence, it can hardly be contested that the community may do in defence of the whole body. But we cannot agree with the author that experience has determined that milder methods would be ineffectual to preserve the order of society, and the security of private persons. 'The profession of assassins and robbers,' says our author, 'is embraced only by a class of vile beings ignorant and obscure, who attach no value to public opinion, and upon whom infamy and civil degradation have no effect. Coarsely clothed and grossly fed, they would submit to servitude, were it not for their aversion to labour and their craving for intoxicating liquors, the great object of all their desires.' We doubt not the justness of this description. What then are we to think of governments, which licence and encourage this diffusion of liquid poison in every corner of our cities, and even in the most secluded of our villages? But we regard at present this question as more likely to exercise the wits of contending disputants, than to engage the serious attention of legislators. Whilst governments immolate their subjects, by thousands to gratify their hatred or their ambition, they must regard with ineffable contempt, or perhaps with feelings still more hostile, theories which are such a bitter satire on their own habits and conduct.

Though the distinct essays of which this volume is composed have a common relation to the subject of the whole, yet they are so disconnected as to put it out of our power to give an analysis of the whole. We shall therefore select one of them; that which we have chosen is on bankruptcy; a subject of great interest to all commercial countries, and to our own as much as to any: it is certainly rather a singular phenomenon in the history of civil institutions, that in the most commercial country upon earth the laws concerning bankruptcy should be confessedly the most defective of its civil code.

Under the common name of bankruptcy are included cases which have not in a moral estimation any common relation or qualities whatever. There may be understood by it either the deepest misfortune or the darkest of crimes. At the first blush, therefore, t seems a strange incongruity to subject all who are involved in this condition to a common lot. Reason seems to suggest that a fraudulent bankrupt should be the object of punishment, that the degree of punishment should be proportionate to the enormity of the offence; whilst the unfortunate bankrupt is so little the object of severity, that it seems doubtful whether the claims of just creditors ought to be enforced to his utter ruin. M. Delacroix traces, we think, to its proper source, the abundance of crimes which infest society, and involve so frequently the innocent and the guilty in a common ruin. He says:

'It cannot be denied that it is almost always the fault of men if such a multitude of crimes are propagated in the midst of them: they grant with so little consideration their respect to the appearance of riches, they refuse it with so absurd a disdain to the exterior of poverty, that they force the latter to make use of every device to conceal its true condition, and to assume some appearance of consequence. This weakness of human reason doubtless does not render the want of probity excusable, but it explains the cause of the progress of dishonesty among us.'

He proceeds:

'Can we be surprised if bankruptcies are become in our days more frequent than ever? All men are tormented with the thirst after riches; all wish to gain with rapidity what cannot be acquired but by constant economy and a prudent and laborious activity. The number of traders is greater than that of consumers: men without fortune, without credit, without intelligence, embark in commercial speculations, and have no other view than to dazzle and impose upon the manufacturer, whose productions they absorb. They can remain in a profession, into which they ought never to have entered at all, only by multiplying hazardous engagements. If they liquidate some trifling debts, it is only with a view to accumulate greater, and to extend a credit to which they have no claim. As the funds from which they draw their subsistence is not their own, it little concerns them what they retain in their own hands: to day they devour the substance of one, to morrow they will consume that of another; and they will not be betrayed, till dupes are no longer to be found. Perhaps many failures might be prevented, if the right to engage in commerce were less readily granted, and it were confined to men who could give some pledge to society.

'Many regulations which have been designated as barbarous and tyrannical, are perhaps to be regretted, and I know not if we have gained more than we have lost by the annihilation of these corporations, against which the system of the economists was directed. The liberty of industry has at the first view a seductive appearance; but it has also its abuses which are not easily repressed, and industry, which gets forward without the help of fortune, is often an object of just suspicion.

'The arts and trades which are exercised in society require an apprenticeship, knowledge, and preliminary studies. But now-a-day every body is allowed to embrace the profession of a merchant or a banker. He engages in enterprizes in the single confidence of his own powers and his own intelligence; assurance stands in the stead of instruction, and experience; and if he can contrive to procure a few advances, he boldly marches in the path which is to conduct him either to riches or to infamy. The more adventurous he

is in his speculations, the more are the chances either for or against him, and the security which he affects himself is communicated to those whom he has contrived to involve in his concerns. It is only at the moment when he can no longer deceive himself, that the charm is broken, and men shudder at the danger in which they are ingulphed.'

The laws of France have ever made a distinction between the unfortunate and the fraudulent bankrupt, and have proceeded against the latter as a civil offender, his crime being in truth a robbery, accompanied commonly with circumstances of the greatest aggravation. A declaration passed so long ago as the year 1716 contained many excellent regulations, which were equally advantageous to the creditor and the honest debtor. To the former it secured as much of his property as accrued from the effects of his debtor; to the latter it furnished, what to an upright mind is inestimable, the means of justifying the purity and integrity of his actions and intentions. But to enact good laws is but half the duty of wise legislators; to ensure their execution is the other half, equally important and much more difficult. Fraud and chicane were too powerful and too much interested in eluding the salutary provisions of this ordinance; and it had for many years fallen into disuse and almost into oblivion.

'At the moment,' observes the author, 'that a commercial man perceives that it will be impossible for him to fulfil his engagements, and that he has before his eyes the painful perspective of a failure, he ought to regard himself as a stranger in his warehouses, and in the midst of his stock; and to be convinced that the smallest article of which he disposes to the prejudice of his creditors, is a larceny, the object of criminal justice.

'Unhappily the want of shades and gradations, which renders our laws imperfect, introduces likewise confusion into our opinions. A banker whose creditors suffer a loss of twenty per cent. is as much dishonoured in the public opinion as he who has failed for fifty or sixty per cent. Thence it happens that a man will not declare himself a bankrupt till the last extremity: often he has even a sort of vanity in not failing for a trifle: as if the robbery were ennobled by the magnitude of the plunder.'

There is certainly truth in this observation. To remedy the evil, M. Delacroix would give a reward to every merchant who called his creditors together the instant he was assured that his private fortune was gone, and would affix a severe, and in truth, a well merited punishment upon him who deferred declaring himself a bankrupt till the last extremity. It is obvious however, that the proof of such a crime is often in-

volved in the greatest difficulty. He would moreover proportionate the punishment to the loss sustained by the creditor. Thus he proposes, that if a man pays 90 per cent, the punishment should go no further than to affect his reputation; but that if the loss sustained be greater, the degradation should be greater, and a term of imprisonment should be added. But all general rules are inevitably attended with private injustice. Suppose, for example, a man of integrity, but not rich, has a large sum of money entrusted to him. He for security takes it to his banker, who on the morrow fails, and the poor man has not enough left to pay his creditors sixpence in the pound. Is he to suffer imprisonment too in addition to his calamity? This is not a feigned case, we have known something very like it happen in real life. Every case, in truth, stands by itself, and ought to be weighed by its own merits: and it would be very desirable that judicatures should have a degree of discretionary power, in all cases where the exercise of such a power is not liable to great abuses.

But it accords with every notion of justice and equity, that a fraudulent bankrupt, like every other robber, should upon conviction be subject to condign punishment. The present French code enacts '*Every bankruptcy made fraudulently and with design to deceive the legitimate creditors, shall be punished by six years imprisonment in irons.*' M. Delacroix properly remarks that the laconic brevity of this law, attacks with too little distinction offences more or less serious, and which on that account ought not to suffer the same punishment either in kind or duration, and he well concludes, that

'If families derived their lustre from honour and a high reputation for probity; if delicacy influenced the choice of their connexions, commerce would not be disgraced with so many failures, and the justice of the tribunals would have fewer occasions of punishment.'

Having taken a view of the crimes which are the principal objects of criminal justice, having unfolded their origin, weighed the degrees of moral offence attached to them, and suggested what he deems adequate and efficacious punishments, M. Delacroix, in a third part of his work, enters upon an examination of the forms which ought to precede condemnations. This includes subjects of the first consequence to individual security,—the forms of accusation, the steps necessary to secure the appearance of the accused, courts of justice, the laws of evidence, witnesses, council, and juries. The curiosity of Englishmen is naturally directed to the opinions of an impartial and enlightened foreigner, (for such we must esteem M.

Delacroix on the favourite institution of these islands, and which was adopted in France perhaps with a childish avidity at the first revolutionary effervescence. Mons. D. does not seem satisfied with the establishment, but yet not so much so as to wish to have the ancient forms re-established. In fact he seems to halo between two opinions. He complains of the unfeeling indifference of magistrates, accustomed to the spectacle of crimes and misery. He confesses that, in spite of his respect for the magistracy, and the justice he is willing to render to their penetration and intelligence, he would rather be tried by dispassionate and disinterested men, endued with good sense and an upright spirit, than by those whose hearts have been hardened by the custom of seeing criminals, and of condemning them. With equal frankness he avows that he should tremble, though conscious of the most perfect innocence, to see his fate depend on the opinion of a jury taken by chance from the country, or the class of ignorant artisans, men destitute of all judgment, and of all sensibility. His own project is to ennoble the function of juries, so that all honest citizens should be ambitious of fulfilling them, and of seeing their names inscribed on the honourable list from which they should be taken. It should be a grievous dishonour to be struck off the rolls, if from indifference, partiality, or any sinister motive, a man shall have merited such an affront. These ideas are well deserving consideration in a country in which the institution is novel. But we should dread any innovation on our English fashions. With all their imperfections, the obligations of this country to the spirit and integrity of our petty juries are incalculable. Can we forget the acquittal of the man whom Pitt would have brought to the scaffold for pursuing with a little too much eagerness that reform which himself projected? Had they shrunk from their duty, it would, we think, have been the death-blow to the freedom of the country.

M. Delacroix has added considerably to the interest of his work, by interspersing it with little anecdotes which have occurred to him either in the exercise of his profession, or in the common intercourse of life. We shall select two of them for the amusement of our readers. They are extracted from a chapter on duels.

'I recollect, on this subject, the observation of a man proud of his birth; he was saying that one of his friends had, very properly, run a brother officer through the body, for remarking that his account of an adventure was not correct. I took the liberty to remark, that it would have been right first to ascertain whether the fact was so or not. What signifies it? replied he. Know, Sir,

that a lie from the mouth of a gentleman, is more to be respected than the truth from that of an ordinary person. That is indeed a maxim so broad and so new, I replied, that certainly I shall never forget it as long as I live. I turned away instantly to speak to another person. But if I was shocked at such insolent presumption, a very different scene reconciled me to the dignified pride of a general officer, who repelled a challenge given him by a gentleman, who pretended to have received an offence from what he called a lie. For what reason, said the old officer, should I place myself on the same footing with you? What glory can I acquire by killing you? Your family, perhaps, who will be very little concerned about the matter, will demand from me the price of your blood. If you really possess courage, as you would wish us to believe, show yourself, as I have done, in twenty combats against the enemies of France, and you will have no need, in order to display your valour, to be so very touchy on the point of honour. A strange way indeed, replied the gentleman, of extricating yourself from the affair. Attribute my refusal, Sir, if you please, replied the general, to apprehension. Attempt to persuade the world that you have been able to inspire me with terror. He pronounced these words with so martial a tone, and with an air of such superiority, that his adversary was disconcerted. He muttered out an answer which nobody heard, and withdrew.

'The marechal, as calm as before the dispute, spoke with an air of indifference of an affair which occupied the public attention, and which left upon all minds an idea of his immoveable firmness.'

Our kind-hearted author has appended to his essays a project of a foundling hospital.—We beg his pardon—that is a name at which he has taken offence, and France has plenty of them already. Well then, it is *Un Hospice Maternel* for the reception of foundling children. He bemoans with much feeling, the fate of the unhappy innocents, the fruits of illicit love. 'The young ones of the wolf are less objects of pity,' he says, 'since they have a mother who gives them suck, who runs to them after having been separated, to obtain her nourishment.' We do not know why the young wolves should be an object of pity at all—but this *en passant*. We hope too that his pity for these little deserted human creatures, when taken into *public* houses of reception, is also misplaced. The feelings of nature are so strong in the female breast of all ranks and degrees, that we are confident that a foster mother, placed under the inspection of numbers of her own sex, will not dare grossly to neglect her charge. The reproaches and indignation of her companions would quickly remind her of her duty; terror and shame would extort from her the assiduities which she has no motive of affection to bestow.

In each department, at the entrance of the principal town, should one of these houses of reception be placed. Here every child that is brought is to be received, no questions asked, and the greater the number of children that were brought, the better would our author be pleased. This we think a little strange, after all his *exterminating* rage against the unfortunate females, who, with all their activity in the service of the public, are rarely destined to enrich the state with new citizens. How better treatment is to be secured to the children in their infancy, than what they now receive, we are not informed. But in the breeding up of them it is that M. Delacroix displays the grandeur of his conceptions. These bastards are to be formed into a new cast, a new tribe in the state, from which are to issue for the service of the country, ' military men distinguished for their bravery and their intelligence. and ministers of public worship wholly devoted to their august functions.' Some of them, it is true, may be rather stupid, and such must be contented with a humbler lot, they are to cultivate the earth ' with the instruments which nature has not refused them,' meaning, we presume, their legs and arms. His notions of the education proper for the priesthood, may be gained from the following passage :

' The children whose character is calm and gentle, and who do not seem agitated by the violence of passion, should be particularly directed to the study of morality and sacred history; they should only learn the Greek and Latin languages in the sacred writers ; the former of these languages should be taught them by translating the eloquent discourses of St. John Chrysostom, and his affecting homilies. Their knowledge of Latin should also be derived from the principal fathers of the church ; they should be kept in ignorance even of the names of Horace, Ovid, Terence, and Tibullus. Their imagination should never be excited by paintings which genius has too much multiplied, and which haunt the minds of infants even in their dreams. The same cares which Lycurgus bestowed to form invincible warriors, I would apply to furnish the state with priests as pure as the service of religion requires ; they should have no other knowledge of the origin of the world but by the inspirations of the bible and of the sacred writings, or by the eloquent discourses of Bossuet.

' The foundations of the church, its persecutions, its combats and triumphs, should be presented to them in the impartial pages of Fleury. Some odes of Rousseau, the tragedies of Esther and Athalie, the poem of Religion, should give them an idea of the magnificent language of poetry ; they should fortify themselves against the arguments of infidelity by the reading of the great discourses which form the glory of the apostolic chair.

' All profane writing should have in their eyes no more value than the celebrated library of Alexandria in those of the caliph Omar.'

To every thing, said the wise man, *there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.* And we had thought indeed that the season for publishing notions of this kind was for ever past. What greater affront can be offered to religion itself, than the supposition that its ministers, defenders, and preachers ought to be kept in utter ignorance of all polite and useful learning?

We order these things better in England. Our experience teaches us, that if we set before men sufficient motives, they may be made to support any opinions, any dogmas, any systems whatever, however contrary to reason, and shocking to common sense. Bishopries, deaneries, prebendaries, and fat livings, produce the same happy effects which M. Delacroix expects from his proposal of making churchmen read only one side of a question; they do not indeed produce a total darkness of intellect, but they affect the mental vision in a peculiar and extraordinary manner. They make the patients able to see only the part of the argument which suits their interests, all the rest is involved in total darkness. One precaution, however, M. Delacroix seems to have omitted; which is having made them just the beings he wishes, how is he to keep them there. In the human mind there seems implanted a wonderful disposition to continue in motion, when once it has received an impulse. We see not how, therefore, our pure and zealous pastors can be kept stationary except by a seclusion as rigorous as that with which eastern tyranny guards the objects of its unceasing jealousy. Mons. D. ought to revive the monastic institutions as the only fit abodes for his innocent and ignorant pastors. They ought never to be allowed to set their foot in the open world. There they will meet, in spite of all precautions, with the wicked works of Horace and Ovid, and Terence and Tibullus, and a thousand modern authors still more prophane to awaken their curiosity, inflame their imagination, and introduce the unhappy art of doubting and reflecting, and reasoning.

The treatment he proposes for his young military pupils is less revolting to reason. Rousseau has furnished him with his outlines; he has filled up the picture prettily enough.

But he observes very gravely that nature, anxious to preserve all her productions and perpetuate the species, the fruit of her fecundity, has divided it nearly equally into two sexes nearly equal in numbers.—Well we must expect then as many girls as boys in our maternal hospital, and our author seems rather puzzled to know what to do with them. A part indeed are very reasonably disposed of, and had he treated the whole in the same manner, boys as well as girls, we should have heartily subscribed to the prudence of his choice.

'The inclination,' he says, 'to servile employments, hard labour, and vulgar professions ought not to be contradicted; they should be put apprentices to masters of acknowledged probity; the mayors of the communes should be engaged to point out good farmers and opulent labourers, who are willing to receive healthy and robust children, and give them work in the country.'

This is common sense. But it does not satisfy our author's magnificent ideas. Some of these poor girls will be beauties; their grace and their dignity will show that they have sprung from no vulgar loins. Such are destined to be the prize of valour and of virtue. Others again will be very clever; they are to be formed *(risum teneatis?)*—into *actresses*, or as M. Delacroix sublimely phrases it,

'I will consecrate to Melpomene and Thalia those who shew themselves most worthy to be offered to these muses. If they are victims, they shall be pure ones, and with spotless hearts they shall become the organs of love. They shall paint every sentiment, and be themselves strangers to them. I will make them Iphigenias, Phedras, and Andromaches. But till they find an Achilles, they shall be strangers to love. The passion they shall feign for Hypolitus shall inspire them with more horror than inclination to vice. When weeping, as the widow of Hector, they shall learn the value of conjugal fidelity. If they act the part of Antigonæ, they will perceive that the condition of orphan is not alway a misfortune; and that there exist brothers so vile, that it is often better to have no relations than to be obliged to blush for those whom nature has given us.'

We are surprized that such a tissue of extravagances can have escaped from the pen of a sensible writer. But in forming a *project* the imagination runs wild, and no more harm is done than blotting so much paper. We think with the author, that deserted children should be taken care of by the country. We think that they should receive elementary education, which is the right of all civilized communities. But not a step farther would we go. If marriage be really the most useful, it ought to be the most honourable of human institutions. Foundling hospitals in general, therefore, are only to be considered as necessary evils, which the corruption of our manners force us to tolerate. But let us not give prizes to licentiousness, let us not stimulate to vice, by removing all the ill consequences which ought naturally to flow from its gratification. Treat the deserted offspring of irregular passion humanely; give them fit food for the body, and form their minds to regular habits of industry. But do not raise them a single step above the labouring classes of the community. Of what

can they complain, since so nourished and so educated, their lot may be as good (we wish we ought not to say better) than that of the great mass of all civilized communities?

M. Delacroix takes several opportunities of informing his reader that he is oppressed with the load of years. We think that this circumstance has had an influence on his writings; many of the opinions to which he seems to cling with the affection of a settled habit, we suspect that in the more vigorous periods of his life he would have submitted to a more rigid scrutiny, and perhaps have discarded as antiquated prejudices We think, likewise, that the desire of conciliating or the fear of offending a despotic master, has damped his energies, and bound his mind in fetters. Some of his speculations have extorted a smile, but the obvious goodness of his intentions has thrown a veil over (we pronounce the words with reluctance) their weakness and absurdity. On the subject both of religion and education, we have met with sentiments which seem to be wholly at variance with the dictates of reason and good sense. But we must acknowledge, that where we have even failed to reap instruction, we have commonly received pleasure; and that if we cannot give the author credit for views distinguished for their novelty or their profundity, he has displayed rectitude of design, sensibility to those even who have forfeited their claims to the benevolence of their fellow creatures, and an earnest desire to promote the best interests of human society.

Histoire Critique du Philosophisme Anglois, &c.

ART. V.—*Critical History of English Philosophism, from its Origin to its Introduction into France inclusively. By M. Tabaraud*, 2 *Tomes*, 8vo. Paris. 1806.

THE object of this publication is truly catholic, it being intended to prove that all impiety and irreligion took its rise from Luther's reformation, and that England in particular has been the nurse of apostacy and the parent of every crime which flowed from the infidelity of the French revolutionists.

'This work', the author informs us, 'was originally to have formed only a single chapter of the history of French *philosophism*; but as we became engaged in the perusal of those English authors who have written on the question, our matter swelled under our pen, and the result has been the two volumes now communicated to the public. Even after we had undertaken to give in a more ample detail the particular history of English *philosophism*, our first idea was simply to translate the excellent work of Leland on the deistical

writers of his country; but that would not have satisfied our end which was to distinguish the relations between the French and English doctrine. This author, moreover, has entered into no personal details respecting his writers. These details would, doubtless, have possessed but an inconsiderable interest in his own country where they are sufficiently notorious; but in ours where little is known about them, they will become more curious. They appeared to us also essentially to appertain to the history of English philosophy, because they often contribute to give a better insight into the spirit of works and design of the authors; for this reason, in the short notices which we give respecting the persons of these men, we have selected those circumstances of their lives which are most proper to let one into an understanding of the character of their books.

'It would have been to fail in our principal end if we had confined ourselves to exposing the doctrine of the English deists. Our object was less to satisfy a vain curiosity than to labour for the instruction of our readers. In forewarning them against false systems, we thought it our duty, after the example of Leland, to oppose to them that of the learned apologists of Christianity, their fellow countrymen who have distinguished themselves in this kind of controversy; and wherever we have perceived that these last, carried away by the erroneous principles of their own church, either have given unsatisfactory answers on certain questions, or permitted themselves to make assertions which unbelievers may abuse, we have borrowed from the catholic apologists more conclusive arguments and truer maxims. This work may then be considered, as far as the critical and dogmatic part of it, as an analysis of all that has been produced of the greatest importance both for and against religion, not only in England but in France also. Wherever we have found materials proper for our plan, we have made use of them. The character of historian, the only one which we assume, gave us the right to do so, abandoning to controversialists by profession the care of treating these grave questions with greater comprehensiveness and depth. Our only merit is to have placed in one point of view and presented in a tolerable compass (considering the abundance of matter) on one side the arguments of unbelief, on the other the very superior answers of the defenders of religion. The work, such as it is, was composed in England, in those moments of leisure which were left to us from employments of a very different nature, rendered necessary by the evils of a long banishment. They are the spoils of the Egyptians which we bring back into our own country without, however, having done any wrong to the generous hosts among whom we collected them. Under these circumstances, and for the sake of the good cause which made us undertake the work, it solicits some indulgence on the part of the friends of religion, since it is principally for them that we write.' Preface.

This extract is sufficient to save us the trouble of analysing the nature of the work before us. The introductory chapter,

entitled 'Of the Origin and Causes of English *Philosophism*,' more clearly explains the views and principles of the writer. Under certain conditions he does not deny the truth of Voltaire's assertion 'that there is no country where the christian religion has been so strongly attacked, and so learnedly defended as in England;' but he adds, that 'without denying the English theologians any of the praises due to their zeal, their knowledge, the extent of their researches, and the depth of their reflexions, it cannot be disputed that the fundamental principle of the reformation which necessarily mixes in all their discussions with unbelievers, greatly weakens the force of their proofs and has often counteracted the success of their arguments.'

'That regulating principle of protestantism,' he adds, 'which gives to every individual the indefinite liberty of submitting all things to human reason, is a very active dissolvent, of which the one party never fails to make use in its attacks on revealed religion, and which always in some degree embarrasses and confounds the defence of the other. When the unbelievers avail themselves of the mode of examination in order to attack the dogmas of Luther and Calvin, the disciples of those two great leaders of reform are forced to say, that this mode, though good for well exercised understandings, is insufficient for the community. Thus they lose themselves in wanderings which evidently discover their embarrassment, and pretend that those who are not in a condition to discuss the contested dogmas, ought not to judge of what they do not understand, but to remain in suspence, to abandon controversy to the theologians, to restrain themselves to the fundamental principles of christianity, to attach themselves only to what they comprehend, to chuse out of the different confessions that in which all parties agree for the fundamentals of religion; that if all the instructions to which they have recourse, do not dissipate the obscurity in which the contested dogmas are enveloped, it is a proof that those dogmas are false, doubtful, or at least unnecessary.' P. 2, 3.

The inference intended to be drawn from this statement is plain. None but the sound unshaken catholics can successfully oppose the reasonings of the unbeliever. None but he who denies the authority of human reason, can with any effect dispute the modes in which that reason is exercised.

'We must conclude from this simple view that, acknowledging no authority which irrevocably pronounces on the truths of faith, and willing that no man should decide on the choice of dogmas except by the aid of his own reason, the protestants must, to be consistent with themselves, fall first into Socinianism, and thence precipitate themselves into Deism by the mere application of their principle. Seeing that there is nothing fixed in their sect, that their

principles determine nothing, that their different churches are as much at variance with each other as with the church of Rome, they cannot sincerely persuade themselves that Jesus Christ is the author of their religion. Hence they are already on the brink of deism. It is the vice of this method which renders their most excellent apologies for the christian religion so very defective.'

Through the remainder of this chapter, the author draws with tolerable historical precision, a picture of the origin and progress of our reformation, of the various sects to which it gave rise among us, of the introduction of free thinking, and the gradual propagation of all the various modes of unbelief. In one passage he is betrayed into something like an acknowledgment of the insufficiency of his own argument, by attributing the irreligion of Charles the Second's reign, more to the excessive profligacy and immorality of the times, than to any cause connected with our abandonment of the church of Rome. How then, when he comes to compare the state of opinions in the worst times of this country, with that which prevailed in France during the revolution, does he forget that the manners of the French nation, previous to that revolution, were infinitely more corrupt than those of our own country, even during the latter years of the Stuart dynasty? And, if to the corruption of manners may be ascribed the decay of religion in England, why should not the same causes, aggravated to the degree in which we have witnessed it in France, have produced that aggravation of the same effect which we have also witnessed there?

The preservation and recovery of our religion from so deep a state of depravity, M. Tabaraud attributes entirely to our church establishment which, by laying down on its own authority a certain rule of faith, has tacitly disavowed the very principle on which it originally departed from the church of Rome, has denied the sufficiency of human reason and acknowledged the necessity of a fixed and arbitrary guide. The catholics are right in attributing this merit to our establishment; since, as long as we admit the authority in question, we retain a stumbling block in our own path and leave a most powerful weapon in the hands of our adversaries. If human reason is an insufficient guide, then the principle of the reformation was wrong, and the catholic system, as being the most ancient, is the only safe religion.

There can be no doubt that, until a reformer arose hardy enough to assert the rights of our reason, there could be no such thing as systematic infidelity in existence. But the advocates for freedom of opinion will have no hesitation in declaring such a state of blind credulity infinitely more disagreeable and contradictory to true religion than the widest differences intro-

duced by rational and free inquiry. However, in that sense, we must be content to admit that the principle of the reformation is the parent of infidelity as well as of sound and judicious belief. It was natural that, the chain once broken, mankind should at first run wild into all possible diversities and extravagances of opinion; and it was also natural that the wanderings of intellect should by degrees subside and settle into a calm and quiet course of unrestrained belief. The history of the reformation in England affords, in fact, one of the most honourable testimonies to the truth of Christianity; since with all the licence of thinking which it gave, the cause of fidelity has been uniformly triumphant, and even our adversaries acknowledge that her best champions have been found among the free and enlightened professors of protestantism. That the triumph of religion in this country has not been yet more complete, we attribute to the very cause which our catholic opponents would set up as the only medium of our salvation, an exclusive national establishment. When all mankind are free to form their opinions, not only legally free, but morally so, free from any worldly bias, from the influence of any extraneous motive on their judgments, then, and then only, will the triumph of religion be absolute and unquestionable.

We shall next proceed to examine what M. Tabaraud has said respecting the several champions of infidelity whose lives and doctrines he proposes to exemplify; and, if we discover in this portion of his work any novelty of observation or depth of argument or research, in short any thing that should entitle it to the praise of originality, we shall make it the subject of a future article.

ART. VI.—*Gallerie de Caracteres Prussiens.*

Gallery of Prussian Characters, 12*mo*. Germany. 1808. No name of place, of printer or publisher.

AS we believe that only a very few copies of the present work have found their way into this country we shall present our readers with a rather copious account of its contents. It throws considerable light on the state of the Prussian court previous to its last fatal rupture with France, and shews in some measure the degree of virtue and intellect which was to be found in the councils of Frederick William III. at the time when he ventured to attack the colossal power of Bonaparte. Most of the portraits, which amount to twenty-two, and comprise all the great civil and military characters of the Prussian court, appear in general to be drawn

with sufficient fidelity and discrimination. The author evidently understands what mode of policy Prussia ought to have pursued previous to that moment of infatuation which impelled her to engage in an unequal contest with France, which precipitated her into that gulph of ruin from which she is never likely to emerge.

The first picture in the Gallery is that of general Koekeritz, of whom we shall say little, for little deserves to be said. He is designated as having the air of a soldier, but combined with such a vacant physiognomy that the duke of Brunswick compared his head to a hollow pumpkin without any light within. Yet this man, whose principal passion appears to be *good living*, and whose bosom was no better recipient than an open street for the secrets of his sovereign, had no small share in accelerating his destruction. 'Nothing' as the author well remarks, 'is more easy to corrupt than probity when it is devoid of sense.' Heed this ye sovereigns; and in your councils, let moral worth be combined with intellectual sagacity! The second picture, which will engage a little more of our attention, is that of Charles William Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, grand marshall in the service of the king of Prussia. At different periods of his life the duke of Brunswick attracted our admiration and excited our abhorrence, inflamed our hate and interested our compassion. He certainly displayed military talents of no ordinary kind in the seven years war; and the manner in which he regulated the internal œconomy of his hereditary dominions proves him to have been both beneficent and wise, and though the proclamation against France which appeared in his name in 1792 roused the indignant feelings of every lover of freedom and humanity in Europe, there is something in the ultimate issue of his political and military career, which forcibly arrests our attention, which mitigates our aversion, and almost makes us shed tears.

The author in some measure exculpates the duke of Brunswick from any share in that proclamation which brought such accumulated infamy on his name. He says that count Schoulenbourg Kehnert, who was at this time (1792) at the head of the department of foreign affairs, ordered one Renffner to compose this celebrated manifesto. Renffner eagerly embraced this opportunity of paying his court to the count, and of gratifying the inveterate animosity which he had conceived against the French. The proclamation menaced the capital of France with the fate of Jerusalem, if it did not immediately return to its allegiance to Louis the sixteenth. But, says the author, 'nothing could less accord with the character of the Duke of Brunswick than such a manifesto. But what could he do? could he substitute another for that which he disapproved?'

We think that he should have remonstrated with the court of Prussia against the impolitic and sanguinary manifesto, and at least rather have resigned the command than have put his signature to such a scandalous production.

After retiring from the field the duke could no longer advise the continuance of the war; and after the peace of Basle he never encouraged the renewal of hostilities.—In the ten last years of his life the duke seems to have experienced the debilitating effects of age; at least he could not elevate his faculties to a level with the extraordinary phenomena of the times, nor would he reform his military experience, and accommodate it to the new principles of warfare which the French revolution had produced. Hence he was an advocate for peace, 'and if Prussia preserved peace for ten years it may be ascribed to his counsels.' Towards the end of the year 1805 he is said to have written to a person of distinction in England, that if the war with France were continued, it would for a time destroy the liberty of the continent and be destructive even to the interest of Great Britain. He saw with secret regret the alliance which the court of Berlin was forming with that of Petersburg, and he augured nothing but evil from the impolitic league. The real object of his last journey to Petersburg is to this day an impenetrable mystery.

Those who had nearest access to his person from the latter end of September to the 14th of October found him totally destitute of energy. The most vigorous measures were requisite but nothing could reanimate the lassitude of his frame. 'Like the Marquis de Lucchesini he indulged in the fatal delusion that Bonaparte would entrench himself behind the Saale in Franconia, and keep on the defensive to prove to Europe that he was not the aggressor. All his arrangements were formed on a false supposition, which was evident at the first glance. The French had actually reached Naumbourg before the infatuated duke could be persuaded that they were on their march. It was not till the 13th of October that the veil fell from his eyes and that all the danger of his situation stared him in the face. Colonel Massenbach, who, on this day spoke to him for the last time, told him frankly that the army was in the most deplorable condition; that it was without bread, without forage, and after a few rounds were fired would be without ammunition. At this discourse the duke regarded him for some time with a fixed look of horror and amaze; after which, recovering from the shock, he threw himself into an arm chair, and exclaimed in a faint voice, "But my God! is there no remedy? Is there then an end of our political existence!!!"

Nothing could retrieve the fatal impolicy of the past: and the events of the following day seem to have consummated the

ruin of the Prussian monarchy. On the morning of the battle the greatness of the danger served to communicate new vigour to the duke.

'He was on horseback in the environs of Armstadt; the enemy suddenly appeared under the cover of a thick mist which concealed both his numbers and his position. In such circumstances the duke was averse from hazarding an attack. He returned rapidly to the king, related to him what had happened, and advised the action to be delayed till the mist had dispersed, and the whole army could be brought into action. This advice was worthy of an experienced general; but it was not pursued.'

Nothing more remained for the duke than to put himself at the head of his grenadiers and begin the conflict in the midst of the mist. But in a short time a musket-ball which deprived him of his sight obliged him to quit the field. He was conducted to Brunswick and on the approach of the French to Altona. He bore his sufferings with admirable fortitude, and uttered not a word of impatience nor complaint, though his wound must have occasioned excruciating pain. He was buried at Ottensen in the same church which contains the ashes of Klopstock and Arminius.

The next picture is that of prince Hohenlohe, who is described as prodigal, corrupt, vain, possessing personal courage but destitute of military capacity. Of Frederic Christian Louis, prince of Prussia, known by the name of Louis Ferdinand, we shall say little because we shall have occasion to notice his character at length in another article. He appears to have been a person of considerable talents; but of which the usefulness was destroyed and the lustre obscured by those vices which the defective education of princes seems almost naturally to produce. His character was marked by a degree of restless activity, which, if it had taken the direction of the arts, and sciences, might have rendered him an ornament and a benefactor to his country. As a relief from *ennui* he seems to have plunged into a course of low debauchery; and in those intervals when he appeared to emerge from the sway of women, and of wine, he became the prey of passions which threatened to endanger the safety of the government.

'If,' says the author, 'circumstances had been more favourable, he would have acted the part of Cataline, to whom he also bore a close resemblance in his pecuniary embarrassments, in his ebriety and other excesses.'

Levin de Geuseau was seventy-one years of age at the commencement of the last war between Prussia and France. He

was then at the head of the engineers and of the *etat-major*. He was not without talents but he was destitute of genius; and nothing but genius can accommodate itself to new circumstances, and to those changes of sentiment and conduct which such circumstances require. Geuseau, like many other of the Prussian officers, would have been thought equal to his station if France had introduced no innovations and reforms into the military art. But Geuseau, as if his mind had been only a piece of the most stubborn mechanism, persisted in his old train of ideas, when the improvements of the enemy required one intirely new. The contracted notions of Geuseau had a most unfavourable influence on the conduct of the last war. To him may be ascribed the want which the army sustained of ammunition and provisions. The military hospitals were totally unprovided, the fortresses had been suffered to fall into decay, and in his neglect, the commanders may find some excuse for the apparent facility with which they surrendered Magdeburgh, &c. to the enemy.

Adjutant-general Kleist possessed no commanding talents which might have supplied some means of counteraction to the imbecility of Geuseau. 'There was a time,' says the author, 'when the destinies of Europe were in the hands of Mollendorf. This was in 1794, when the French having driven the English, the Austrians, and the Dutch, from the Low Countries, menaced Holland.' He was admonished that the conquest of Holland would be fatally adverse to the continuance of the continental war; but Mollendorf, who was insensible to any considerations of political interest, suffered the opportunity to be lost of saving Europe from the grasp of the French. The apathy, the ignorance, or the selfishness of Mollendorf, combined with the avarice of some Jews, who had entered into a contract with his adjutant, prevented any succour from being sent to Holland with that promptitude which might have opposed a barrier to the progress of the French. After the battle of Jena the Emperor Napoleon respected the old age of Mollendorf, 'he continued his pension without any diminution and admitted him to his table and his concerts.'

General Kuchel was a good general of division, but a bad commander in chief. His early promotion in the army inflated his vanity, and aggravated his presumption. He was brave and generous; but his judgment was too much under the controul of his passions. He was principally instrumental in producing the war which has desolated his country. The author well remarks that while Prussia had the title of a military state, 'there was no country in the world where with some exceptions military science was more neglected, unless we honour with that name the diurnal exercise of the parade, and the mechanical manœuvres of a review.'

Of General Blucher, on whom so much praise has been lavished in the English papers, the author says that he 'is a good general of division, but he seems not to possess that comprehensive mind which can unite many discordant parts into one harmonious whole; or which can direct an enterprize that requires extent of foresight, great sagacity in the plan, and great skill in the combination of the means. He seems to possess a genius admirably adapted for a *piece-meal* war, a war of petty incursion, sudden surprize, and adventurous desperation, where the display of personal heroism and even the incautious temerity of courage are of most avail. All this may be meritorious in a general of division, but 'a commander in chief,' as the author well remarks, 'should direct all his measures against the *whole force* of his enemy without thinking of beating him in detail; for as soon as he is satisfied with this, his defeat is inevitable!' At the battle of Jena it was Blucher who precipitated the conflict, and in some measure occasioned the defeat which the prudence of the duke of Brunswick endeavoured to prevent. After the battle he seems to have acted in some measure like a knight-errant, with impetuous bravery, but without any concert with his superiors or any regular plan of operations. Instead of succouring the corps of prince Hohenlohe, he kept aloof even after he was commanded to march to his assistance. Blucher is said to have been passionately fond of play; and pharo was his favourite occupation. But the transcendant merit of a general according to an excellent observation, instead of abandoning any thing to chance like a pharo-player, tends rather to exclude fortune from any share in the event. *The qualities of a general must be wanting in proportion as he possesses those of a gamester.* We hope that this observation will be appropriated to those whom the *cap may happen to fit.* The fall of the Prussian monarchy shows what in great critical emergencies must be the fate of nations, when their security and independence are entrusted to men of subordinate capacity, to narrow and sordid minds, to faculties torpid for want of culture, which have been debilitated by age or paralysed by debauchery. Every great and extensive enterprise must fail when there is no unity in the measures by which it is to be executed; and this unity is impossible where genius and power are not united in the councils of the nation. Hear this, O genius of Britain! and summon round the throne the wisdom and the virtue of the country before we are sunk in an abyss of difficulties from which we never can emerge!!! Count Kalkreuth, general of cavalry, strongly dissuaded the crusade against France in 1792. In the last war he was appointed to command at Dantzic during the siege; and the manner in which he executed his difficult commission, excited the respectful acknowledgements even of the enemy.

Of general Phoul we shall only say that being sent by the king of Prussia on a mission to Petersburg in 1806, he deserted the sovereign who had loaded him with benefits, and entered into the service of the emperor Alexander!!! The twelfth and last character in the military department is that of Augustus Louis de Massenbach, colonel and lieutenant general on the staff. The author celebrates in terms of no common praise the genius, the virtue, and the patriotism of colonel Massenbach. If his counsels had been attended to, the Prussian monarchy would not so suddenly have been pushed off its base into a gulph of ruin, from which, at least during the imperial sway of Bonaparte, it is never likely to emerge. The Prussian power might have remained tranquil and unimpaired during the convulsions of Europe; and not only have preserved but have increased her grandeur and renown. But the salutary reforms which the patriotic Massenbach proposed in the political and the military system of Prussia were rejected by the dullness which could not comprehend their force, by the envy which maligned their excellence, by the indolence which shrunk with enervated timidity from the exertion which they would have rendered requisite, by the apathy which was indifferent to their effects, or by the selfishness which preferred its own solitary gratification to the safety of the state. The decrepitude which seems to have seized both the body and the mind, both the moral and physical part of Prussia, had rendered her too torpid to feel the impressions of genius or to catch the impulses of patriotism. Massenbach, like Fox, was esteemed visionary, till the calamities of his country proved him wise; but his suggestions were little heeded till it was too late to put them in execution.

Massenbach distinguished himself in the campaigns which preceded the peace of Basle. In 1794 and 1795 he laboured with all his might to preserve Holland from the grasp of the French. Had the advice which Massenbach gave on this occasion been followed a new direction would have been given to the destinies of Europe. But the subjugation of Holland by the French was accelerated by the negligence, the incapacity, and the selfishness of the Prussian agent. After the peace of Basle, Massenbach on all occasions strenuously dissuaded the renewal of the war. He saw in the probable issue only the ruin of Prussia and the aggrandizement of France. He was an enemy to the alliance between the court of Berlin and of Petersburg; he considered it as inauspicious to the interests of Prussia and of Europe. He was desirous that Prussia should form such a barrier as would prevent the barbarians of the north from invading the south. For this purpose he proposed to establish a military communication between the Vistula and the Oder, and between the Oder and the Elbe. He accordingly designed to

fortify a position in east and another in west Prussia; which with Breslau, in Silesia, and with Magdeburg on the Elbe, should form four central fortresses, to each of which he would have adapted an entrenched and permanent camp. But the time in which such a plan might have been realised had passed away; and the boldness with which he predicted the future destiny of Prussia was displeasing to the court. Seeing all his plans frustrated and all his hopes vanish, Massenbach fell into a profound melancholy, from which he had hardly recovered when the great events of 1805 and 1806 again brought him from the bosom of contemplative on the stage of active life. Bonaparte was on his march to Vienna, and a favourable moment had occurred for the interposition of Prussia to check the aggrandizement of France and preserve the balance of Europe. But Prussia hesitated, temporized, and fluctuated in feeble indecision, till the opportunity for action was lost. Though the political theory of Massenbach was adverse to a war with France, yet his patriotism caused him to second the measures of the government. When he found that the Prussian army did not follow Bonaparte in his rout to Moravia, he proposed to invade the French provinces on the Rhine, in order to make a diversion in favour of the Austrian and Russian confederates, and to oblige the French emperor to divide his force. Massenbach foresaw the consequences to which the languid and irresolute conduct of Prussia would lead; but the precautions of wisdom could not avert the ruin of a corrupt and imbecile court!!!

After having given so much attention to the military portraits, we shall pass more rapidly over those in the civil departments of the state. The second part of this gallery contains characters of cabinet counsellors, ministers of state, and literati. They are the following, Beyme, Lombard, Count Schoulenbourg,—Kehnert, Count Haugwitz, some other ministers, Baron Hardenburg, Count Hoym, M. de Stein, Henry de Bulow. John de Muller, Kiesewelter, Hirt, Boucholz. We shall select some characteristic sketches of a few of these distinguished personages.

'On a nearer aquaintance with Count Schoulenbourg' says the author, 'we saw a man of an imposing exterior, who spoke with precision, and who when he wanted reasons to support his opinion, would dextrously appeal from them to his experience, as if it were possible for the results of experience to be opposite to reason. Another shift which he made use of was to say—'These are beautiful visions but which cannot be practically realized; this world is a world of relations and not of ideas; we must know how to conform to circumstances in order to obtain one's end.'

The following reflections of the author on this subject are full of true philosophy, and good sense.

'It is,' says he, 'a very common prejudice with men of business to suppose that the knowledge which they want can be acquired only in an active life. They seem to be ignorant that the idea which produces action must always be anterior to experience. And besides what is this experience of which they boast? It is only an assemblage of broken pieces, which has no principles to connect it, or which is even contrary to all principles. I have often thought that the world would be better governed if those who are entrusted with the conduct of affairs brought ideas to business, instead of endeavouring to make business the road to ideas. He will never reach that point who waits till he is conducted thither by experience, for his life is too short for this purpose; and amid the inquietudes and distractions of business, there is no leisure for the generalization of facts. In order to mount successfully to the region of ideas, study is necessary, or in other words we must augment one's own experience by that of all ages. He who neglects study, because he thinks it painful or unnecessary, will do wrong to attach much value to his own personal experience, for it must always be very scanty and imperfect. Lord Bacon, who is certainly a competent judge on this subject, goes so far as to pronounce that those who have not consecrated a great part of their time to study (*qui non in libris evolvendis operam collocarunt*) have no aptitude for business, and that the pitiful experience which they attain will never teach them the right measures which they ought to pursue.'

These remarks are verified not only in Count Schoulenbourg, a large part of whose life was passed in the details of office under three sovereigns, but in the late Mr. Pitt, who was versed in the routine of administration for near twenty years. But though this latter gentleman, whom his contemporaries have called a great man, but whom posterity will more correctly appreciate, was so well skilled in all the practical forms of official experience, he was only very superficially read in books. He had not leisure, *in libris evolvendis operam collocare*, nor had he any sufficient interval of repose in the distraction of business for the generalization of the observations which he had made, nor of the facts which had come within his cognizance. Hence, though he was splendidly eloquent he was never profoundly wise. He had not, like Mr. Fox, augmented the comparatively diminutive stock of his own experience by the experience of all ages. Hence none of his measures were formed on a comprehensive scale; they were not a great and perfect whole, but merely a patch-work of temporary expedients. They evinced rather subtlety of artifice than depth of reflection, and rather mechanical adroitness than philosophical investigation.

'The life of Count Schoulenbourg, says the author, 'shews how high a man may rise in particular circumstances by a mere fitness to be a tool, and how low he may fall in others by a total want of merit. If he ever had any affection, it was for the Jews whom he loved for the baseness with which they know how to pay their court to great men.'

The early education of Count Haugwitz, says the author, must have been very bad, since it did not teach him to feel that it is necessary to excite respect if we wish to conciliate esteem. At one period of his life Haugwitz repaired to Lavater in order to be instructed in the mysticism of his art.—Lavater is said at first to have been prepossessed in favour of the count from a certain resemblance which he imagined between him and a head of Christ. But notwithstanding his eccentricities Lavater had too much discernment to be long deceived; and he told his friends to beware of the young count, for he had never seen so much immorality under such a masque. Frederic William II. interested by the agreeable physiognomy of Haugwitz, placed him in the diplomatic department, 'for which' says the author, 'he was not better prepared than many others who are indebted for their education to a French *governess* and a dancing master.' During the important transactions which signalized the close of 1805, Haugwitz was sent at the end of October on a special mission to Bonaparte to make proposals of peace. But the French emperor did not give him an audience till after the battle of Austerlitz. 'On the news of this battle which was not favourable to his mission he cried out in the presence of Talleyrand: Good God! We have conquered!' This piece of effrontery is in unison with his character. A scene which took place between Haugwitz and the Jew Ephraim, who was well known at Berlin by the name of privy counsellor Ephraim, will show some light on the groveling vulgarity of the man. This Jew passed for a profound diver into political secrets which he retailed to his weak or credulous employers. Even the late duke of Brunswick is said not to have disdained the services of Ephraim; who like a lurcher was incessantly sneaking from one ambassador's hotel to another in order to *nose* the secrets of the diplomatic trade. This mean and contemptible fellow was almost daily with Count Haugwitz with whom he appears to have been on terms of great familiarity.—At the beginning of September, when war became inevitable between Prussia and France, Ephraim waited on the count in order to obtain the knowledge of certain particulars by which he might oblige the French ambassador, when the following dialogue ensued, of which Ephraim made no secret among his friends.

'*Ephraim.* But what will the public say of your excellency when

it learns that you are now actually desirous of a war with France, which was not the case last year when circumstances were more favourable.

'*Haugwitz.* The public may kiss my ****.

'*Ephraim.* The public will then taste the ***** of a minister's ****.'

What must be the corruption of a state in which such a dialogue could take place between a babbling, fetid, and perfidious Jew, and a minister for foreign affairs !!!

We shall now bring this article to a close. Most of the characters are well drawn, and some with a masterly hand. The work may be read with great advantage in the present times, for as it serves to develop the causes by which a once great and powerful state has been reduced to the very brink of annihilation, it may act as a useful monitor to other governments, and particularly to our own, to avoid the same errors to which Prussia owes her present state of abject subjugation. It particularly admonishes other governments not to trust the conduct of their affairs to weak and inefficient ministers, to men enfeebled by age, wasted by debauchery, contracted by ignorance or degraded by vice.—An English translation of this important and interesting volume is already in the press, and will be shortly published by Mr. Mawman in the Poultry.

ART. VII.—*Gallerie Preussischer Charactere, aus der Franzosischen handschrift übersetzt.* 12*mo.* Germanien. 1807.

THIS is a German translation of the above work. We have compared it with the original and find that though it is in general faithful and correct, there are a few omissions in some places and additions in others.

ART. VIII.—*Ausflug, von Constantinopel nach Brussa in Kleinasien im Jahre* 1793.

Excursion from Constantinople to Brusa, in Asia Minor, in the Year 1793. *By Ignatz von Brenner. With an Engraved View of Brusa.* 12*mo.* Vienna *and* Triet. 1808. Imported by a Gentleman from the Continent.

THE author of this pleasing work passed ten years of his life in a diplomatic situation at Constantinople. He undertook this little tour in 1793, and seven years after he corrected his

journal on the spot. The present aspect of Turkey, which cannot but be highlyinteresting to those who speculate on the political changes which that country is soon likely to undergo, is said principally to have induced the author to publish this description of the antient capital of the sultans of the house of Osman.

'It was almost the fashion,' says the author, 'for every stranger whom curiosity or business brought to Constantinople to visit the neighbouring town, which in the fourteenth century was the rival of Byzantium, as well as the principal seat and in some measure cradle of the Osmanic dynasty; which afterwards rose to such a tremendous pitch of power.' The author in company with a friend leftConstantinople on the 10th of May 1793, on the eve of the feast of the great *Bairam*, and embarked on board a boat which was to convey them across the Propontis to Mudania and Scylace on the Asiatic shore. The sea was unruffled and the night beautifully serene. The author speaks in terms of rapture of the splendid spectacle which Constantinople exhibited on the night of the *Bairam*, when the minarets were hung with innumerable lamps, and at the distance appeared like so many pillars festooned with globules of fire. This magnificent exhibition attracted the attention of our travellers till the towers and domes of the capital sunk in distance, when sleep took the place of admiration, till they landed the next morning at Mudania. This place is said to be tolerably built, and to be chiefly inhabited by Greeks. The back ground rises into smiling hills covered with vines. Between these vineyards the author kept the road which imperceptibly led to a height from which the wide vale of Brusa at once burst upon his view.

The first object which attracted his eye on entering this charming vale was mount Olympus, which terminates the prospect to the north east; at the foot of which Brusa is built.

'With solemn majesty Olympus raises his white summit to the clouds; the bow of the ethereal arch seems to rest upon his shoulders, and his head, which is covered with mists, to be the thunderer's throne. As our traveller advanced nearer the city of Brusa, it appeared to recede from his approach. The multitude of trees with which it is surrounded, conceal it from the eye till within the distance of half a league. The whole border of the vale is shaded with mulberry trees which are intersected by a maze of paths, which are rendered almost impassable during the torrent-rains or the melting of the snows. The author left Mudania about noon, and about six in the evening he arrived at Brusa. He passed through a miserable gate into the quarter of the Jews; where he was hospitably entertained at the house of a French merchant.'

'Brusa, antiently Prusa, and which is called Bursa by the Turks, was confessedly the principal town in Bithynia. It lies in lon-

gitude 46′40″ and in latitude 39′52″. Historians are not agreed about its origin; many, as Pliny, ascribe it to Hannibal, but others with more probability to Prusias the Bythinian king whom his contemporaries regarded as a paragon of policy.'

In the year of the Hegira 717, (Chr. 1318) Osman the First attempted the conquest of Brusa, but the brave resistance of the inhabitants defeated the purpose of the Sultan. Before the death of Osman in the year of the H. 726 (Chr. 1326) his son succeeded in getting possession of the town by cunning and persuasion; and after his accession to the throne, he removed the seat of government from Jenisei to this place. From this period Brusa has been considered as the principal town in Asia Minor, though Murad I. the successor of Orchan, transferred his court to Adrianople, and none of the reigning sultans after him made it their constant residence.

The population of Brusa is computed at present at 100,000 souls; but this seems beyond the truth, even though 6000 Armenians, 3500 Greeks, and 1200 Jews are taken into the account. The original town, which is inhabited only by Turks, contains about 13000 houses. In the suburbs, where the Jews and christians reside, the number of houses are reckoned at the utmost at from 4000 to 5000. The number of mosques is proportionally large. Report numbers them at 366, but they are not much distinguished by external nor internal decorations. The most antient was erected by Sultan Orchan. But that is far more beautiful which on account of its size is called *Ulu Dschamy* or the great mosque. In this are seen some few traces of a better taste, but which vanished with the declension of the eastern empire, and its degeneracy is still visible in the present possessors of the country. Like the Pantheon at Rome, transformed into a christian church, it receives its sober light from a round opening in the dome which is suspended on elegant pillars over the nave. In the middle of the temple, directly under the opening, a fountain of the purest water gushes up from a large marble bason. The author seems to have been charmed with the effect which was produced on him by this well imagined structure.

'The simplicity of the plan,' says he, 'the mysterious *clear—obscure*, and the soft melancholy murmur of the pearly stream contrasted with the solemn stillness which prevails through the whole building, inspires the feeling of reverence and devotion.'

Beyond the suburbs on a little but steep hill covered with many ruins, there is a mosque which was formerly a Greek church, the interior as well as the exterior surface is of white marble. On the road which leads to the baths, there is another, which serves as a burying-place for different princes of

of the blood of Osman, but which has more the appearance of a state prison, than an imperial sepulchre.

'Nothing,' says the author, 'can be more romantic than the view from this height. The town, which lies below, was admirably adapted to be the residence of the proud masters of a powerful Asiatic state. In the front the sight wanders over a vast extent of vale, which, sprinkled with villages, gardens and groves, is stretched out like a variegated carpet beneath; in the back ground, Olympus with his precipitous sides shaded with deep forests, and his summit crowned with white clouds rises majestically to the skies. Those palaces are now only a heap of ruins, a nod from which would once have made the world tremble, from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from the Euxine to the source of the Danube.'

'Some words wich fell from our guide,' says the author, 'excited the desire of seeing the ARSENAL, which is in the neighbourhood of these ruins. For this purpose the permission of the governor was necessary. This arrived in about half an hour, and we had to wait about the same time till the key belonging to the padlock of the little iron gate was found. This was at last opened; and we were conducted across a kitchen garden to a ditch of considerable depth; which we passed, not without danger, over a narrow and crazy plank, to an ill formed terrace which was not more than a few yards in circumference. In this place, under the open sky lay the artillery of Brusa, consisting of four wretched cannon, thrown negligently on some boards; we may suppose that their carriages have long since crumbled into dust. What a falling off from the expectations which the high sounding name (of ARSENAL) had produced!'

Under the terrace above mentioned, the author tells us

'is a wide subterraneous vault, into which we crawled through a low half-choaked up door. Within it appears to be about twelve yards square, and fourteen or sixteen high. On the wall, which must be at least nine feet thick, is painted an immense snake, which, according to our conductor, was once an inhabitant of this spot. In the walls are several openings above one another, which seem to lead to as many rooms, but for want of a ladder, we had no means of exploring the fact. The whole building is still firm and uninjured. But we could not procure any information whether it served as a place of security for treasure, as a prison, or for any other purpose.'

The walls round the old town and the little citadel are provided with towers, according to the antient method. But since Brusa has ceased to be the residence of the Osmanic dynasty, they have fallen to decay. Formerly they might have made an obstinate resistance, but in the present state of military science, they would not be tenable, as they are commanded at many points from the hills above. The au-

thor gives the following instance of what he calls the insatiable curiosity of the Turkish women, with respect to every thing in an European dress. While his companions were employed at some distance in endeavouring to decypher an old Greek inscription, which had been employed in building the walls of the town, he sat down by himself on a block of stone, in a contemplative mood. While he was in this situation, some Turkish women approached the spot. At first they kept at a respectful distance eyeing him from head to foot; the whisper circulated among them; and they seemed to hold a council whether they should draw nearer or pass on. As accidentally no one was nigh they adopted the first resolution. The author determined to remain passive and mute. In a moment he was surrounded by these veiled beauties; one took off his hat, another untied his cravat, a third unbuttoned his waistcoat;—they now tittered and laughed very heartily, and indulged in their remarks without suspecting that the author understood what they said. The author adds that he does not know whether the research of these curious dames would have proceeded farther, or whether his patience would have been equal to the trial, but luckily the appearance of some men put an end to the dilemma and relieved him from his embarrassment.

Brusa possesses some warm mineral baths, to which it is at present in some measure indebted for its fame. They are said to be useful in removing many of the consequences of *syphilis*; but are more particularly famed for the alleviation of rheumatic pains. The different springs are characterised by a difference of temperature as much as by the quality or proportion of the ingredients. One has more sulphur, another more iron, and some a mixture of both; but, what is most remarkable is, that close to a spring which will boil an egg in a few seconds, another spring bubbles up which is as cold as ice.

On the 13th of May the author set out to ascend the top of mount Olympus. This mountain was formerly the abode of numerous monks; but it has for some time been frequented by none but *Nomadic Turkomans*, who drive their herds hither for pasture in the summer and disturb the security of the neighbouring country. This mountain may be divided into different regions which are characterised by different vegetable products. First there is a gradually ascending border of cultivated land and mulberry-trees; next of oats and chesnuts; then of firs, pines and bushes, while the highest top, which during the greatest part of the year, is covered with snow and ice, is merged in the clouds.—After a journey of more than five leagues, which the heat of the sun rendered extremely difficult, the author reached the upper region of Olympus. Here the productive powers of nature gradually disappear, and eternal winter mounts

his frozen throne. The prospect in a clear day is incomparably grand; 'In the north Constantinople and the Black sea; before you the Propontis and the coast of Thrace; in the south a chain of hills in which the plain of Troy and the mystic Ida are included.' The mists, which floated in the distant horizon, prevented the author from enjoying the whole of this prospect, but he was sufficiently recompensed by the landscape that was spread out beneath his feet.

'The diversities of green with which the vale of Brusa was embellished were here exalted by the dark foliage of little romantic woods and there pervaded by glittering streams. Here was a sweet interchange of vineyards and bowers; herds of cattle animated the flowery field; while the impetuous Nilufer*, now vanished from the sight and now re-appeared amid villages and towns till it was at last quite lost behind the hills'—'We delayed our departure,' says the author 'till the declining sun told us to be gone.'

The author next visited Appollonia, or *Abüllionț* as it is called by the Turks. This town is situated about six leagues to the south-west of Brusa on a lake of the same name, and on a neck of land, which during the rising of the water is connected with the main land only by a bridge. The lake itself is surrounded by a chain of hills, and viewed from the north, has a very picturesque appearance. To the left some hills rising perpendicularly one above another seem like so many colossal forms, while the town peers directly above the waves. Boats and sails are every moment passing to the Rhindacus by which the lake not far from Muhalitsch empties itself into the sea of Marmora. The circumference may measure about ten leagues.

Apollonia, says the author, is for the most part inhabited by Greeks. They appear to live on singularly good terms with the Turks, many of whom speak their language, which, except in this place and in Cyprus and the Morea, is seldom the case. They carry on a large trade in fish, particularly cod and carp, with which the lake abounds; and in silk of a beautiful species of which the country produces about six thousand *teffet* † in a year.

The trade of Brusa consists principally of raw and manufactured silk. Of the first about eighty thousand teffet are usually produced in a good year, in the town and its immediate environs, which at the medium price of thirty piastres a teffet will amount to two millions and four hundred thousand

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* Nilufer or *Nilufar suji*. The wood-stream which runs through the whole length of the vale of Brusa.

† The teffet weighs 600 drachms or $1\frac{1}{44}$ ocka.

piastres. The greater part of this article is sent abroad. The importance of the silk manufacture may be discerned from this circumstance that it is sufficient to keep seven hundred looms constantly employed. The number of pieces of silk and silk-stuff which are every year transported to Constantinople, Smyrna and Egypt amount to about one hundred and twenty-six thousand. If we reckon the mean value at eighteen piastres the piece, this article will produce two millions two hundred and sixty thousand piastres. These stuffs are generally prized in Turkey on account of their beauty and their strength. They are prepared according to any pattern which is desired. Another branch of trade, but which properly only passes through Brusa, is that of tobacco-pipe clay. It is found in abundance in the mountains of Eskischehir behind Brusa. The greatest part is sent into Germany and Russia, and furnishes not only a competent subsistence to seven or eight hundred persons, but procures to the town of Eskischehir itself a yearly profit of two hundred and fifty thousand piastres. At first this earth is moist and heavy; but the watery particles soon vanish on an exposure to the air, when it becomes hard and of an astonishing levity compared with the thickness and fineness of its parts. It is susceptible of a certain polish, and may be cut and turned into any diversity of form.

The culture of the vine about Brusa is not considerable but sufficient for the wants of the town and neighbourhood. The soil itself would admit, not only an increase but an improvement of this product, and would furnish the inhabitants with a new and lucrative branch of trade, as the wines which are made here are very agreeable in their kind. But the oppression of the government, combined with the indolence of the inhabitants, presents almost insuperable obstacles to all improvement. While the author was at Brusa the government of the place was vested in the hands of Ajan Ahmed Effendi, a person of great respectability and worth, to whom the author had procured some recommendations from the Reis Effendi and other Turkish ministers.

'He received,' (we translate his own language,) 'and treated us with distinguished courtesy during our stay. We constantly found him in a very spacious pavilion, the windows of which looked into the garden. This room was fitted up in the usual style; but what rendered it peculiarly agreeable was a fountain which dashing from a bason fell into a long marble reservoir in the middle of the apartment, when, it glided out of sight. This fountain produced a more romantic effect in the evening, when according to the Turkish fashion, large silver lamps are placed on wooden stands in the centre of the room, over which they diffuse only a faint and ambiguous light, while the stillness which prevails without, leaves the ear at

leisure to listen with uninterrupted complacency to the liquid murmur of the bubbling fountain.'

'Water is generally reckoned among the favourite gratifications of the East; the climate and the religion make it an article of transcendent necessity; education and custom complete the decided inclination. The water is what is first praised or censured in any place. When the Turk makes an excursion into the country he is anxious to spread his carpet on the banks of a rippling brook; in the vicinity of a lake, or at least of some piece of water, where with his pipe negligently depending from his mouth, he lies or sits for hours or during the whole day, till he is called back to his harem by the setting sun.'

'If the Turks possess a summer-house or garden a fountain must be introduced, though the stream should not be thicker than a thread.'

They are particularly fond of the murmuring of water, because it invites repose, and in general, of every thing which softly steeps the sense in oblivious delight.

Must what the author says of the habitual taciturnity of the Turks be ascribed to constitutional gravity, or the effect of a despotic government, which narrows the topics of conversation while it generates a suspicious reserve, and prevents that open gaiety of heart which delights to express all that it feels, and which can hardly be silent even when it has nothing to say.

'Friends and acquaintance will pass half a day together, and many will linger at a coffee-house without opening their mouths once in an hour; yet they hardly ever complain of the oppressive tediousness of the time, though they have nothing to engage their attention but the volumes of smoke which are incessantly rolling from their pipes.'

'Sociability, according to our ideas of the word, cannot in general be reckoned among the virtues of Islamism. It is not the sympathetic charm of confidential intercourse, so much as necessity, or some particular object, which with them causes the intercourse of man with man. The reason must be sought not in the natural character of the people, but in the exclusion of the softer sex, which is admirably fitted to tie the tender cord by which the social circle is held together by a permanent variety of delight.'

'I am,' says the author, 'obliged to Ahmed Effendi for the most delicious moment of my life. A Greek had assisted a christian in escaping from slavery. He was accused, convicted, and condemned to death. What appeared a capital transgression to the fanatic Mahommedan, was in our eyes a glorious deed. We resolved to

leave nothing untried to save this friend of man. It was in the power of Agar to gratify the desire which we cherished. We urged our request to him with importunate earnestness, but professions of good will, which could not contravence the sentence of the Koran, were all that we could obtain from him. Every unsuccessful attempt diminished our hope, but not our zeal. But even the last ray of hope was extinguished, when to our redoubled importunities, on the evening before the execution, Ahmed Effendi gave us to understand that all further exertions would not serve us and would only distress him. Nevertheless at the moment before the period of execution, we again hastened into his presence. He was surrounded by the principal persons of the town. We had hardly taken our places when he ordered the condemned to be brought before him. The unhappy man drew near dragging his heavy iron chains. His lips were white, his cheeks emaciated and pale. Keeping his eyes steadfastly fixed on the ground, he awaited the awful signal for his execution. At this critical moment a solemn silence reigned in the spacious hall, and our eyes hung in anguish on the lips of Ahmed. At last pointing to us he said, "I make your life a present to those gentlemen. Go! and thank them for it."

On his return to Constantinople, the author visited Gemlick, which is at the farthest recess of a bay of that name. This place under the Greek emperors possessed a fortress of such strength, that Sultan Orchan beseiged it for a year, before he could force it to surrender. Here the author and his party supped with the archbishop, and had an opportunity of knowing experimentally the excellent taste and diversity of the fish that are found in the bay. Here he found the conversation more free, but he says, that the trade of the place is confined to the fruit which is carried to the capital. At Gemlick in the fore court of a Grecian monastery, the author was very seriously shewn a long stone on which it was said that the holy fathers of the council of Nice had sat and drank coffee!!! Pious men!!! Egregious saints!!! Would that you had employed yourselves more in drinking coffee, and less in fabricating creeds!!! Our author took ship at Gemlick, and before he reached Constantinople touched at the Prince's island, which he describes with apparent fidelity and eloquence.

ART. IX.—*Anekdoten und Charakterzüge, &c. &c.*

Anecdotes and characteristic Traits of Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia. 12mo. Berlin. 1807. Imported by a private hand.

THIS author is a more unreserved admirer of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia than the author of the Gallery of Prussian

Portraits, but we do not think that he appreciates the merits and defects, the light and shade of his character with such force of remark or nicety of discrimination. The author is rather a panegyrist than the historian of his life; and he has brought together an assemblage of anecdotes, the object of which is to prove that Prince Ferdinand possessed all the qualities of a great and an amiable man. To the latter part of the praise we can more readily subscribe than to the first, for though he does not appear to us to have been distinguished by any singular elevation of mind or grandeur of character, yet we are ready to admit that he was generous, humane, and often liberal in the extreme. His character exhibited a continual deviation from common rules, but these deviations were such as give him a title to be denominated rather singular than great. They evinced rather a wayward eccentricity of disposition than real sublimity of mind. There was a frivolity in his pursuits which was very unbecoming in a prince; and which took greatly from the respect which by a more judicious application of his faculties, he might have attained. When a prince stoops to be the associate of fiddlers and buffoons, the dignity of his station cannot atone for the degradation of his taste. Ferdinand certainly possessed talents which, if they had been matured by more diligent and judicious culture, might have raised him to a level with the great, and have rendered him not only an object of admiration to the vulgar, but of respect to the wise. His capacity seems to have been above the common level; his perceptions were quick, his imagination lively, and his general powers of that plastic kind which can readily accommodate themselves to great varieties of exertion. There was in the interior of his frame a spirit of restless activity which caused his mind in some degree to prey upon itself; but the perpetual motion of his intellect seemed always to be occupied more by little and shewy, than by great and serious occupations, suited to the sphere in which he moved. Like many persons of a lively sensibility, he seems throughout life to have been governed more by impulse than reflection, more by momentary whim than by deliberate choice. But the sympathies of his nature, were so attuned to charity, that he seems not to have beheld distress without a desire to relieve it, and this desire was in him an impetuous force which excited to the relief of the object without being allayed by any subordinate considerations. Hence his generosity was often prodigally lavished, and never sufficiently discriminate. But it exhibited proofs of a kind and feeling heart which those in high stations can seldom evince, whatever may be their other defects, without being enthusiastically beloved. When we see the unre-

strained profusion of his liberality combined with more than ordinary affability, we cannot be surprized at the popularity which he obtained among the lower orders, and at the affectionate warmth with which his memory is cherished by his associates.

He was too apt to drink to excess; and like most persons in his station, he was rather licentious in his amours. But the author intimates that love, or a grosser passion which hardly deserves the name, never incited him to transgress the boundaries of morality. To this we cannot give an unconditional assent; though we must say that of persons in similar situations, and possessing similar opportunities of sensual indulgence many appear to have been more vicious in the use. The last act of his life, by which his friends hope to canonize him as a hero, seems to us rather to merit reprobation than to be a fit subject for panegyric. His death must be regarded rather as the act of thoughtless desperation than of deliberate bravery; rather of a man tired of life himself than of a general who was studious of preserving the lives of his troops; rather of a gamester who had thrown his last stake than of a patriot who is lavish of his life only when the sacrifice can benefit his country. Prussia could reap no benefit from the death of Ferdinand in the circumstances in which he was wantonly prodigal of existence. He was neither a Codrus nor a Curtius, whose death could avert the destiny of an empire. He rode rather like a frantic bacchanal than a sober-minded general into the midst of the French troops when, opposed by superior numbers, he might have retired without disgrace. When surrounded by the enemy, who were anxious to save his life, he refused every proffer of quarter, and made a chivalrous display of courage and contempt of death, from which his country could derive neither advantage nor renown. Temerity ought not to pass for heroism, nor to usurp the same recompence of fame.

We shall now translate a few of the anecdotes from the collection which the author has furnished of the public and private, the civil, and the military virtues of the prince. In very early life he is said to have exhibited many proofs of a benevolent disposition. The pocket-money which he was allowed was principally disbursed in acts of charity.

'When only ten years of age he said to one of his friends, I wish that I had every year a million at my disposal that I might make every one happy and comfortable around me.'

'Sometimes for want of satisfactory employment he devoted himself to the fine arts to which he manifested a lively attachment. He was passionately fond of music, and was not only a prac-

tical performer but a skilfull composer. Many successful pieces proceeded from him in early life. Luther's motto

Wer nicht liebt wein, weib and gesang
Der bleibt ein narr sein lebenlang !

Who loves not wine, women and song,
Remains a fool all his life long.

was exclusively his.'

'In the year 1793. Louis was with the Prussian army at Frankfort on the Main. He soon became acquainted with all the celebrated musicians of the place, who, captivated by his attractive manners and his taste for the art, collected around him. At this time a foreign musician who had been reduced by long sickness to a state of indigence, brought a letter of recommendation to one of the sons of harmony at this place.'

As this unfortunate artist displayed a considerable degree of musical talent, the person to whom he had been recommended waited on Prince Ferdinand to consult with him on the subject. The prince advised the arrangement of a concert in which the individual might have an opportunity of displaying his powers, and very condescendingly offered to take his place among the performers and play a sonata on the piano for his benefit. The Prince's name was announced in the bills, which produced a large and respectable assemblage of persons and procured a considerable subscription for the indigent musician. The prince performed his part to the admiration of the company. At the end of the entertainment the poor foreigner, thrilling with gratitude, went up to the prince with tears of joy to testify his obligation.

'Do not mention it, says the prince with great good humour, I am glad that I had an opportunity of serving you ; and besides I had the satisfaction to see that my logic was not erroneous. The full house answered my expectation ; I suppose people think that a prince must understand every thing better than ordinary men, and consequently be a more expert musician. You have afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of the truth of my hypothesis, I am accordingly much obliged to you for this, and so we are quits.'

Such an occurrence must have added greatly to the popularity of the prince among the vulgar ; but we are of opinion that if he had given the musician a sum of money he would equally have gratified his generosity without degrading his dignity by an occupation unsuitable to his character.

On one occasion when the prince was in Minden, he met with a poor French emigrant, who was begging his bread,

'What were you in France ? said the prince.—A flourishing tradesman in a provincial town, who had a house and shop. Was

it as large as that? said the prince, pointing to a house opposite in which there was a shopkeeper in a small way of business. The emigrant replied that it was. Wait a little; said the prince, and went away. He soon came back in good spirits and said, That house there, with the shop is your property; you may take possession of it in eight days. He had gone and prevailed on the shopkeeper to part with his house and stock to the emigrant for the sum of 10,000 dollars.'

This is one of those acts of magnificent generosity of which we love to read and which every benevolent heart would wish for the capacity constantly to realize. Charity appears to have operated on the conduct of Ferdinand less by principle than by impulse; but the impulses which governed him on these occasions were often those which seem to elevate man to a level with higher orders of existence. Benevolence is by no means a *cold calculating* quality;—but still that benevolence is productive of the most diffused good, which, while it follows the primary impulses of a sympathizing heart, is not altogether unreflecting and inconsiderate.

The Author gives the following instance of the *morality* by which the prince was governed in his amours. As the author assures us that the story is not a romantic fiction but a simple relation of facts we shall not dispute his veracity but present our readers with a faithful translation of the whole transaction.

'When (Prince Ferdinand) was a young man, previous to the march of the Prussians against France in the year 1792, he fell in love with an officer's wife who was a very charming woman, and who, as was generally known, had been married to her present spouse against her own inclinations and only to comply with the command of her relations. Probably the consciousness of this might have incited the prince to cultivate the acquaintance of a lady of such captivating beauty: He went often to the house and the oftener he went the more he perceived the disparity between her and her husband. It is no wonder if with his propensity to the pleasures of life, if with the loveliness of a woman who lived unhappily with her husband, with the spirit of the times which in such cases diminishes her scrupulosity:—it is no wonder if he thought that he might be happy while the lady obtained some compensation for the misery of her lot. Besides he was far from being a friend of the husband, who at times behaved without much ceremony to his wife. I will not,' says the author 'take upon me entirely to defend the selfishness which there is in this reasoning, nor the want of a rigorous morality, though in such circumstances and in these selfish times there is hardly one young man in a thousand who would have felt differently on the subject;—but he was a man, and he seemed favoured by the friend-

ly smile of the goddess Opportunity. But let us proceed with the story. One evening he was alone with the enamoured fair, and secure from every possibility of disturbance. He made her acquainted with the feelings of his heart and begged for a reciprocal gratification. She was mute; she beckoned him to be gone; her bosom heaved with sighs and tears trickled down her cheeks; but in these tears, in these sighs of an agonizing heart the spirit of virtue was struggling for the mastery with the demon of luxuriating sense. The Prince became more pressing. Young man, said the lady, I am unhappy; would you take advantage of it? my misery does not give me any right to violate my duty. I will not oppose you like a heroine in romance; but I cannot be a wanton that trifles with the solemnity of an oath.—I am a WIFE! Louis reminded her of all the misery which had sprung from this connection, and again urged his suit with redoubled vehemence; but she remained firm, and repeated her determination. The Prince at last went away provoked and out of humour. She called him back and said with a faultering voice; I know myself and think also that I know you. I accordingly venture to make this confession. You know not what a difficult contest I had to sustain before I made you any reply. I love you; and were I not the wife of another, but a virgin or a widow,—then—then you should have no occasion to require this acknowledgement from my lips! Louis went away; he was piqued for a whole day and felt vindictive and displeased. His frustrated hope prompted to some criminal resolution; but the more he reflected on her conduct and her answer the more he recovered his tranquillity; the more he reflected on the sentiments she had uttered, the more complacency he felt. This feeling at last rose to genuine admiration and esteem. Things were in this situation, when in the beginning of the last revolutionary war the Prussian army took the field. The prince bade the lady an affectionate and respectful adieu. The husband went with him to the field. They soon came in sight of the enemy; and one action followed on another. In one of these skirmishes, the husband with a small body of Prussians advanced much too far beyond the lines till he was placed in the most perilous situation. The prince who was near saw how the balls flew in showers around his head. The scene in the parlour was vividly presented to his imagination. He saw the charming woman, he heard her words; "I love you, and were I not the wife of another, were I a widow I would prove it to you!" Her husband stood now before his eyes in the most imminent peril of his life; the happiness of the one seemed to depend on the death of the other: if the husband fell the prince was sure of the love of the wife. For one moment he indulged the unhallowed hope and cherished the lovely dream; but in the next his better self returned. "And shall I suffer the man and perhaps thirty others with him to die in torture in order to procure for myself one short interval of bliss? Ought I to sacrifice the lives of my fellow-creatures to my lust? No! away with the thought!—God defend me! He shall not be made another Uriah!" He sprung impetuously

forward towards the officer and exclaimed! Away there, sir, don't you hear the balls whizz around you? You are endangering your life without any probable advantage. In a few moments you and your men will be overpowered and lost! "Permit me to be here!" cried the officer blinded with rage. No; answered Lewis—I will not permit it. If you will not comply with my request, I command you as your superior. Fall back, march! The men fell back and the officer was obliged to follow.'

The conduct of the lady on this occasion presents an instance of constancy in withstanding temptation which some of our modern females would do well to imitate; and though the conduct of Ferdinand cannot be entirely approved yet it shews that he was actuated by something like a sense of duty which is not always found, as ancient and modern story will abundantly testify, even in the breasts of princes and of kings.

We have great pleasure in relating the following trait of his personal bravery and enterprising spirit. At the siege of Mentz by the Prussians, the French had a strong and well appointed redoubt before the second parallel; the Prussians had to make themselves masters of this outwork before they could in some measure proceed to the conquest of the place. It was determined to attack this redoubt and to take it if possible.

'A leader for the enterprize was to be chosen amongst the principal officers; none seemed very anxious for the perilous service. When Louis freely offered himself and solicited from the king the appointment as a favour. The monarch started difficulties, for he was unwilling to hazard the life of the gallant youth in the dangerous undertaking. But the latter did not desist till he had obtained the royal assent. 'My children what is your opinion?' said Louis as he stood in front of the grenadiers of Manstein who were destined for the expedition, what is your opinion? shall we succeed or not?' O! answered they with one voice, we can't fail when you are with us. 'Good', replied he, 'if you think so, we have already conquered. I will never forsake you; you know me well. Only do as much for me and leave me not behind. Follow me with confidence, I will go first.' And he was as good as his word. It was about ten at night; rainy clouds overspread the horizon and rendered it extremely dark. Under cover of the night and in the most profound silence, they approached the redoubt; it was carried by the bayonet and the enemy expelled; but he returned about one in the same night in order to attempt the recovery but the attempt was vain. Louis here exhibited the most distinguished proofs of the most elevated bravery. While the French were repeating in the redoubt their well-known song: *Ah ca ira!* he collected his grenadiers and cried out, 'Non, ca n'ira pas! Fol-

low me children, forwards, march.' HE WAS THE FIRST IN THE REDOUBT.'

'He had an uncommon affection for his brave and now deceased uncle Prince Henry of Prussia, whose favourite he was. When intelligence reached Berlin of the last illness of Prince Henry, Louis was inconsolable. He instantly prevailed on his father to permit him to set out for Rhinsberg in company with his sister the princess Louisa (wife of Prince Radzivil) and the Prince Augustus Ferdinand. When they came near the place Louis, who was acquainted with the spot sprung forward from the carriage, and flew by the shortest way to the castle, into the chamber of the Prince, and threw himself down with tears on the bed of his sick relation. The dying man still recognised him, pressed his hand and expired!'

It is difficult to say what rendered Louis so prodigal of his life at the battle of Saalfield. His death was not so much that of a hero as of a man in a state of desperation. The writer of these anecdotes says that an extraordinary change was observed in his appearance and manner a few days before the action in which he lost his life. On the 7th of October he is said to have had a conference with Prince Hohenlohe, which lasted for two hours, and no other persons were present. He went into the room with his usual vivacity and cheerfulness, but when he came out a deep gloom was observed on his countenance which did not vanish till his death. He had recourse to music, but there was no longer the same sprightliness in the notes which he produced. Dussek, the musician, one of his intimate friends, observed that his royal highness did not appear the same person since his interview with Prince Hohenlohe. He said a good deal to me, said Louis. 'My prince, said Dussek, do not let this disturb you. Why should you make yourself miserable to no purpose? 'Ah!' said Louis, 'we are in a bad situation; the Prussian army is in a desperate situation; I consider it as lost.' 'Impossible,' says Dussek. 'It may appear so,' says Louis, 'but I SHALL NOT SURVIVE OUR FALL! I will act! And now not a word more on the subject.' On this day he played, accompanied by Dussek, but his manner evinced the depression of his mind. His despair of preventing the disasters of his country may seem to excuse the temerity of his death—but A PATRIOT AND A HERO OUGHT NEVER TO DESPAIR.

ART. X.—*Der Marsch der Franzosen nach Indien, &c. &c. The March of the French to India; Information relative to the recently projected Invasion of that Country.* Jena. 12*mo.* 1808. Imported by a Gentleman from the Continent.

WE believe that the late events which have taken place in Spain and Portugal, will oblige Bonaparte to defer this march for the present; and perhaps, instead of attempting it himself, he will leave it among his *posthumous intentions*.

In the year 1801, the Emperor Paul of Russia is said to have concerted an expedition to India in conjunction with the first Consul of France. At that time there were great difficulties in the way of the execution. Persia was then subject to disturbances; and could not have contributed that aid to the expedition which she now seems likely to afford. But the death of Paul put an end to the project. It seems, however, highly probable that such a scheme formed one of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit.

If the invasion of India were undertaken with the consent of the king of Persia, the army would not only not meet with any obstacles in its march through the provinces of that kingdom, but would also be furnished with the necessary supplies. Astrachan on the Caspian is supposed to be the best place of rendezvous for a combined Russian and French army which should meditate such an expedition. From Astrachan the troops might be embarked in ships, and transported over the Caspian.

The Russian part of this army was to consist of 20,000 regular infantry and 10,000 Cossacks. If the French were to send an army of equal force, there are two ways by which it might reach Astrachan. The corps of Davoust, which is stationed on the Vistula might, if destined for the expedition, proceed directly from Warsaw to Zaritzin on the Wolga. This would be a distance of about 230 German miles. Hence the troops might be conveyed by water down the Volga to Astrachan; a distance of about 50 German miles. If the troops which are collected in Dalmatia were employed in the enterprize, they would have to march through a part of European Turkey to the Danube, and might then proceed by water to its mouth. Hence they would cross the Black Sea, and land at Taganrock, on the coast of the sea of Asoph. Hence the army would march along the Don, cross that river at Isbianka, and thence proceed to Zaritzin. From Tanganrock to this place are about 70 German miles,

It would take an army at least ten weeks to accomplish the first rout to Astrachan, while they might perform the last without fatigue in six.

At Astrachan Russia was to have every thing ready for the farther prosecution of the project, as artillery, ammunition, and horses for the French cavalry. This would enable the French to march with fewer impediments and less delay; while French commissaries were to be on the spot to furnish the soldiers with cloathing suitable to the climate. This, as well as horses for the cavalry, might be procured in the Russian provinces at less expense than elsewhere.

An essential requisite would be a sufficient number of ships in Astrachan for the transport of the troops, &c. But these might be procured in that harbour and from the other towns which are situated on the shores of the Caspian. When every thing was ready for their departure, the fleet would sail for the opposite coast of Persia, and the army would land at Astrabad. This voyage, owing to the north and north-west winds which prevail on this sea, would at most occupy not more than ten or twelve days.

Astrabad, which is situated in a province of the same name on the southern extremity of the Caspian, is a considerable town. At this place, General Gardanne, the French minister at the Prussian court, and the other officers of his train would have every thing ready which could facilitate the march of the troops and contribute to the success of the expedition.

From Astrabad the troops would proceed straight through the province of Chorasan to Herat. This is one of the finest provinces in the kingdom. The climate is temperate, the air pure and salubrious. It produces all the necessaries of life in abundance; and there is no want of good water. The first stage embraces an extent of seventy German miles.

From Herat the army would march to Terah a distance of thirty-five German miles. The road runs in part through the province of Sijistan and is attended with numerous obstructions. This province is hilly, but the low grounds are in a great measure an expanse of sand; it is but little cultivated and is overrun by the wandering Turkorans and Afghans, against whom the caravans are obliged to be on their guard.

The third stage reaches to Candahar and amounts to thirty German miles; from whence there are about sixty German miles to the banks of the Indus. The province of Candahar is described as abounding in corn and fruit. The plains are fertile and well watered, and the heat during the summer is not insupportable.

The province of Candahar is in modern times considered as a

part of the kingdom of the Afghans, but it is probable that it is again reduced under the dominion of Persia. It is computed that an army may march from Astrabad to the banks of the Indus in forty-five days; and the interval between April and August is considered as the time of year which is most favourable for the expedition. The large caravans which pass between India and Persia accomplish this journey in about thirty-five, or forty days.

It is supposed that the number of troops which would be necessary for such an expedition would be 60,000; but it is certain that if a well equipped army of forty thousand strong were to appear on the banks of the Indus a great revolution *might be* produced in that part of the world. We will now detail what this German author considers would be the probable result of such an expedition as he has described.

Former expeditions to the East Indies are not to be compared with that which is now in agitation; and so much the less as the power of Napoleon is greater than that of Alexander. Alexander is the only conqueror who ever led an army from Europe to the East Indies.

The expedition of Alexander did not indeed proceed immediately from Europe like that which is at present projected; it was not in fact commenced till he had conquered Persia, and thus it arose out of the Persian war. This is perhaps of greater importance than appears at the first glance.

'The victorious Napoleon,' says the author, 'it is true, always vanquishes his foes; but he would have found the contest more difficult, if he had to fight the battle of Friedland before he encountered the Prussians at Jena. Alexander was in a similar predicament.'

The march of armies is easily delineated on paper, but not so easily accomplished in reality. In India it, is true, Alexander had to encounter elephants, but he was not opposed by the tactics of Europe nor the phalanx of Macedon. It was the contest of order against confusion, of rational discipline against custom without reflection. But in the conflict which we are considering, Europeans will have to fight with Europeans, who are aware of their approach and cannot be taken by surprise.

Alexander advanced to the confines of India with an army far less numerous than would at present be requisite for the conquest of the country. He had not any cannon to transport which makes a great difference. Alexander wanted little more in India than to shew himself in the country, and perhaps erect some trophies of conquest. When he passed the

Hydaspes, he once exclaimed in a critical situation, "O Athenians! would you believe what dangers I encounter in order to be the object of your praise!" We may indeed affirm, in spite of the noise which his expedition has excited, that he really did nothing. He came; he conquered Porus, and went away again. But in the expedition of which we are speaking something very different is to be done; an European people is to be vanquished; and according to the notions of French folly, the British sovereignty of the sea to be destroyed.

Supposing Bonaparte to have overcome all the difficulties of the march, he cannot rely with so much confidence as many think, on the assistance of the native powers. It is very doubtful whether they would consider the arrival of such an army of foreigners to be more for them or against them. The reasons which will determine the judgment of such a people cannot be previously defined, and their conduct will probably frustrate even present expectation.

An army of 60,000 men is by no means sufficient for such an expedition. The length of the way will make a great defalcation of their numbers; and who would leave every thing to the sport of those fatalities and mischances to which the largest armies are exposed? Three armies as large as that above mentioned would be requisite; an army of reserve, and an army to keep up the numbers of the other two; and these should be within such a distance of each other as to be able to repair every loss or disaster which the preceding army might experience. But three such armies would at least triple the difficulties of the enterprize.

At all events greater preparations are necessary than have hitherto been attempted or imagined; and even if the plan were feasable, at least a year must elapse before it could be realized. But if fortune should smile on the attempt, if, what is the height of improbability, the East Indies should be conquered, will the conqueror restore the independence of the native powers? can they maintain that independence without foreign aid? But what would be the worth of India if all access to it by sea were precluded? To this question the author adds the following, what would be the worth of a fleet without India? But would the possession be worth the defence? would the possession make any compensation for the sacrifices which the defence would render necessary? though the English East-India Company have a vast territory they are oppressed with a heavy debt. The conquest of India might indeed give a tremendous shock to the mercantile interests of England. But may not the East Indies be considered as a parasitical member, which by a gradual accretion has fastened on the body politic of England; and which, though it might not be

cut off without great present loss and inconvenience, would ultimately be both physically and morally beneficial? We are far from thinking that the conquest of the East Indies would destroy the maritime sovereignty of England; or, as the author supposes, secure to France the trade of the world. The maximum of commercial advantage will usually belong to that nation which has the largest capital; and situation and other circumstances being equally favourable, that nation will always, in process of time, acquire the largest capital which has the freest government; where the greatest security of enjoyment affords the highest encouragement to the accumulation of wealth. Much of what the author has said on the probable conquest of the East Indies by a combined army of French and Russians is rendered null by the recent occurrences on the Continent, which are likely to withdraw the attention of Bonaparte from his wide-extended projects of foreign subjugation to the defence of his own dynasty at home, from the danger with which it is threatened from within and from without.

In this work the author gives, (1.) Some geographical and statistical accounts of the English East-Indies (2.) A short history of the conquest of the East Indies by the English. (3.) A sketch of the routs by which the trade of the East Indies by land, has been, and still is carried on. (4.) A concise history of the more early expeditions to, and conquest of the East Indies. (5.) An answer to the question, can, and in what manner can an united French and Russian army proceed by land to the East Indies? and (6.) An answer to the question, what effects would result to Europe from the conquest of the East Indies by the French and Russians? In the present article we have principally confined our attention to the 5th and 6th chapters of the work; but if the affairs of the continent should assume a different aspect than we expect, and the power of Bonaparte should not experience that diminution which we think that it will, we shall again call the attention of our readers to this subject in the next appendix.

We shall translate a note on opium at page 41,

'This inspissated juice of the poppy is one of the most lucrative articles of the English East India trade. The company have usurped the exclusive right of purchasing the opium wherever it is manufactured. In the months of November and December, it is transported down the Ganges to Calcutta, where it is exposed to sale. A large portion of this is consumed on the spot; the inhabitants of Bengal are in the general practice of smoaking opium, for which purpose it is mixed with aromatics and made up into balls. But they do not only smoke it but take it also sparingly in the morning in its crude state. Among the Malays and Macassars, it is

sometimes formed into a preparation which raises a tempest in the animal spirits, and throws the person who takes it into a tremendous fit of rage. In this situation he quite loses his recollection, he seizes every thing that comes in his way, and rushes on the bayonet or the sword that is held before him. He appears quite insensible to pain; and even when he is pierced with wounds, he often succeeds in killing his antagonist at the same time. His physical strength is increased by the tumultuous action of his animal spirits. When these are exhausted, or the effect of the phrenzy is past, he may easily be overpowered; but it is very rare to take him alive; he is commonly put to death like a wild beast. The people who make use of opium, use it also for smoaking, as in this case it is sedative and highly soporific, the knowledge of this property is very dexterously employed by thieves. They fill a room where a person is sleeping with the smoke of opium; by this contrivance he is laid in a death-like sleep from which he cannot be awakened by the breaking open of doors, windows, chests, nor any noise that is made.

DIGEST OF LITERATURE

FOR THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

HISTORY.

THE only historical work, worthy of the name, that we have to announce, is Mr. Fox's 'History of the Reign of James the Second.' Public expectation was of course raised to the highest pitch by this work, and great as it was on our part, it certainly was in no respect disappointed. The same soundness of principle, the same love of rational liberty and hatred of oppression, which distinguished that philosophic patriot, when alive, animate his posthumous publication. In the scrupulous search after truth he has been as unwearied as he is unrivalled by any of our historians, and his country has to lament that the labours of the patriotic writer have been confined to so small a portion of her annals. As to Dr. Davies' 'History of Nice,' to say nothing of the trite observations and uninteresting details of which it is composed, the author is one of that class who cannot be contented with what is simple and natural, and never descends to ordinary language. He is always on stilts. We suppose him to be the same person whom we have lately had occasion to censure oftener than once for the extreme affectation and pedantry of his writings, and are at a loss to conceive what end it can answer to him to continue them. St. Helena is so unimportant and so uninteresting a place, that it was hardly possible to write a history of it worthy of general attention. Mr. Brooke's failure may probably, therefore, be attributed in charity to the innate barrenness of the subject.

BIOGRAPHY.

Prejudice and misrepresentation seem to have exhausted themselves in defaming the memory of the illustrious Buchanan. The acquiescence of so many respectable persons, during so long a period of time, in the calumnies which have been heaped upon him, seemed to have confirmed their truth, and to have rendered that truly great character unredeemable from infamy. Several writers have indeed partially endeavoured to remove the dark veil that was thrown over it. But the prejudice had taken so deep roof, that it required a regular and

impartial history, completely to expose the falsehood of his calumniators, and to set forth his character in its real colours. Mr. Irving has undertaken and executed this task in a manner by no means discreditable to himself as a literary man, though we could have wished to see some alterations in the style of writing, but his work displays a spirit of liberality which entitles him to the gratitude of the public, and more particularly of the Scottish nation. The biography of that great and virtuous character, Sir Thomas More, is also creditably executed by Mr. Cayley. He has subjoined a new and perspicuous translation of the Utopia. Captain George Carleton, whose memoirs were originally written by himself at the beginning of the last century, and are now republished, was an enterprizing soldier of fortune, who distinguished himself in the Earl of Peterborough's campaigns in Spain. In the course of his life he met with many singular adventures, which are here detailed. His memoirs, however, will derive their principal interest from their relation to Spain, the inhabitants of which country are making so glorious a struggle for their own liberties and of those of mankind.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ŒCONOMY.

An anonymous 'Sketch of the State of Ireland, past and present,' displays great knowledge of the subject, and is evidently the production of an author whose views are comprehensive, and whose mind is capable of deep and useful reflection. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers, in his 'Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources,' manifests talents worthy of a better cause than that which he has espoused—the cause of perpetual war. He makes it his business to prove, that the country is not taxed within many degrees of what it could bear, and that the peaceful arts and sciences, the occupations of industry, and the pursuit of knowledge, could be well exchanged for the trade of arms. That such sentiments should be avowed and supported by a Christian minister, is strange indeed, and the ingenuity with which he defends his anti-christian tenets, will not compensate for the disgust which they excite. But we must strongly recommend to the very attentive perusal of our readers, Mr. Wyvill's 'Discussion in favour of Liberty of Conscience,' on which we can bestow the highest of all commendations, that it asserts with manly confidence and able reasoning, the great principles of civil and religious liberty.

RELIGION.

Mr. Nisbet's publication, 'On the mysterious Language of

St. Paul, in his Description of the Man of Sin,' is highly rational and judicious. He attempts, and we think with success, to prove, that the prophecies in that very difficult chapter, ii Thessal. ii. 1--12, which have been in general understood to designate the Romish church, have no reference whatever to the papacy, but designate the revolt of the Jews from the Roman yoke, and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem. The literary reputation of Mr Fellowes had long been established on a firm foundation. His theological writings are particularly to be admired. He possesses the happy talent of uniting morality with scriptural doctrine, and philosophical reasoning with both. Equally a stranger to the arrogance of the bigot or infidel, he exercises the right of enquiry with freedom, but not with presumption. His style is eloquent to an extent of which few modern writers can boast, and the frequent exertion of his talents in the cause of practical christianity, unmixed with the dross of polemical theology, have, we believe, secured him the high degree of public favour to which he is so well entitled, and which his late publication, entitled, 'A Body of Theology,' cannot fail to strengthen and increase.

PHILOSOPHY, MORAL, PHYSICAL, AND METAPHYSICAL.

Dr. Thornton's 'New Illustration of the Sexual System of Linnæus,' is not only one of the most beautiful and magnificent works we ever beheld, but also does the greatest credit to the botanical knowledge of the author. He has simplified the twenty-four classes of Linnæus to thirteen. It is in the arrangement principally that his 'Reformed System' differs from the old. Gambier's 'Study of Moral Evidence,' is an unassuming little essay, which, but for the diffidence of the author, might have been amplified into a work of much greater interest. In the 'Theory of Dreams,' the anonymous writer has shewn himself a person of very weak intellect. Who, in this age of reason, wants to be convinced by two volumes of solemn dullness that it is idle to believe in dreams? And yet the present author has gone about to refute, by grave ratiocination, a parcel of old women's tales, which have long since been disbelieved and ridiculed. Ellis's 'Inquiry into the Changes induced on atmospheric Air by the Germination of Seeds, the Vegetation of Plants, and the Respiration of Animals,' though not distinguished by any considerable quantity of original experiment, is a valuable collection of facts, and bespeaks great knowledge and talent for philosophical investigation.

POETRY.

Strutt's 'Test of Guilt,' is the first posthumous publication that attracts our attention in this pleasing department of literature. The author is known by his researches into Archæology. The 'Test of Guilt,' is a dramatic tale in blank verse, and is characterized by perpetual allusions to the customs and manners of our ancestors, to the study of which Mr. Strutt had particularly devoted himself. The style of writing is affectedly simple; its faults and inaccuracies are numerous, but admit of much excuse, as they do not seem to have been ever intended for the public eye. The author possessed much amusing knowledge, and great facility of expression, but he seldom rises to the elevation of poetry. Whenever a writer of eminence is distinguished by any marked peculiarity of style or manners, he is sure to be followed by a host of imitators, who, forgetting that they possess no portion of his genius, think that by caricaturing his singularities, they may come in for their share of approbation. Sterne in prose, and Darwin in poetry, are striking illustrations of this position. And since Mr. Walter Scott has deservedly distinguished himself in what is termed the *wild* style of poetry, the regular, legitimate couplet has been quite deserted, and the press inundated with the effusions of ballad-singers. We mean literally of ballad singers, for the same talent that gave birth to Auld Robin Gray, would without any exertion have produced much the greatest part of the poems in irregular metre that have lately been so much the fashion. Of this description is one called the 'Crusaders,' or, 'The Minstrels of Acre,' in which there is not a single line that rises above mediocrity. In spite of the numerous versions of Juvenal, and more particularly the recent one of Mr. Gifford, which has superseded almost all its predecessors, we cannot but congratulate the public on Mr. Hodgson's Translation, which, upon the whole, we very much prefer to its rival, though their respective merits are of so distinct a nature, that every scholar will place them by each other's side in his library. Mr. Hodgson's powers are both original and splendid, and if he has not laboured, like Mr. Gifford, to preserve, what is in fact impossible to preserve with effect, the abrupt rapidity of the Roman poet, he has infinitely surpassed him in that grand and oratorical style of poetry, which is a much more noble characteristic of Juvenal, while at the same time he is neither less accurate nor more diffuse. In the eye of sober criticism, the intrinsic merit of ballads and ancient romances is exceedingly small. They are merely interesting, inasmuch as they gratify our curiosity by giving us some insight into the language and manners of ages which are past. That curiosity gratified, they are

unworthy to be classed as a department of the literature of enlightened times. Still they have lately attracted a great degree of attention, and in Scotland they are particularly fashionable. Mr. Finlay's 'Collection of Scottish, Historical, and Romantic Ballads,' will therefore doubtless meet with encouragement, and it may be added, that it deserves to be so, more than many other of the same description. It would be little praise to say that Mrs. or Miss (we know not which) Betham's 'Poems,' are superior to the generality of similar effusions. Though consisting of a number of little pieces, for the most part on trifling subjects, they display both elegance of genius and warmth of heart. The second part of 'The Bees,' a poem, by Dr. Evans, has made its appearance. With the exception of the numerous imitations of the style of Darwin, we can confirm the opinion we passed upon the first part on its publication, that it is a very pleasing production. We have already frequently and unequivocally expressed the delight we take in the romances and fairy tales with which our ancestors were so much captivated. The customs of feudal ages, and the manners of ancient chivalry, add a peculiar charm to the productions of Mr. Scott's original and commanding genius. Without instituting any invidious comparison, it may fairly be said that Mr. Rose's Translation of Partenopex de Blois has done as much as can be done in a translation. In the Digest of Literature in our last Appendix, we had occasion to notice one of the late Mr. Strutt's poetical effusions. Another of them, called Queenhoo Hall, has now come before us, and possesses, like most of that gentleman's works, little either to praise or blame. We hope, therefore, his friends will abstain from laying any more of his posthumous publications before the world.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The mountains of Caucasus, which is the general denomination of the whole district that lies between the Caspian and the Euxine seas, have been rarely visited or described by travellers. At the present period they acquire an additional interest from the supposed intention of our formidable enemy to force a passage over them to our Indian possessions. Dr. Reineggs, whose work has been given in an English dress by Mr. Wilkinson, possessed great facilities for exploring those impenetrable countries, and he has investigated with accuracy and zeal their characteristic features and productions. Drury's 'Account of Madagascar,' is more like the Adventures of Philip Quarle, than a serious book of travels. There is reason, however, to believe that the tale is founded on fact, and that the scenes in which the author describes himself to have been a

principal actor, were not imaginary. He was ship-wrecked on the coast of Madagascar about an hundred years ago, and made prisoner by the natives, who sold him as a slave to one of the principal men of the island. After going through numerous adventures, of which an abstract was given in our review of the work, he made his escape to the coast, where at length he met with an English vessel, which conveyed him to his native country. His account of his adventures was first published in 1728, and some person or other has thought it worth while at this distance of time again to bring it before the public. We have found Mr. Parsons a most agreeable and instructive companion in his 'Travels in Asia and Africa.' He was formerly consul at Scanderoon, from whence he had occasion to take several journies to Latichea, Aleppo, Bagdad, and Bussora. From the latter place he went by sea to Bombay, thence to Mocha and Suez, in the Red Sea, and then by land to Cairo and Rosetta in Egypt. Of all those interesting countries he has furnished a number of very curious details, not borrowed from other books of travels, like most of the modern tours, but faithful delineations of what he heard and saw. Although he makes no pretensions to learning, his remarks are always sensible, and evince a mind capable of great discrimination and eager for useful knowledge. The same high degree of praise cannot be bestowed on Mr. Cordiner's 'Description of Ceylon,' which is much more dry than might have been expected from the nature of the subject, and displays a very inferior degree of talent to the last mentioned work. It is on the whole, we think, inferior to Captain Percival's account of the same island. The portion of it which excited the greatest share of our attention, was the detailed narrative of the unfortunate campaign against the Candians in 1803, which ended so disgracefully to the British arms.

NOVELS.

We come again to this barren tract, in which Mr. Dallas, who stands high in the public estimation in consequence of some of his former novels, particularly 'The Morlands,' has, we are sorry to say, lost ground very considerably. The 'Knights,' are professed to be tales illustrative of the marvellous; but Mr. Dallas does not succeed on fairy land. We hope he will relinquish the marvellous, a species of writing for which he seems to be entirely unqualified, and confine himself to the domestic, in which, by his knowledge of character and manners, and his agreeable mode of communicating that knowledge, he has often afforded the public a great share of rational entertainment. The 'Abyssinian Reformer,' by Mr.

Lucas, author of the 'Infernal Quixote,' cannot be called a bad novel, and the author, though extremely inelegant and inaccurate in composition, displays much discrimination and sagacity in his observations, particularly on the important subjects of politics and religion. The Gulistân, or Rose Garden, of Sady, translated by Mr. Gladwin, may come under the description of novels, as it consists chiefly of moral sentences, illustrated by tales of fiction. This beautiful performance, besides the liveliness of fancy for which the author is so celebrated, displays the profoundest insight into human nature, and we have derived very great gratification from the perusal of it.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The merit of containing much, both of information and amusement, must not certainly be refused to Mr. Malcolm's 'Anecdotes of London during the Eighteenth Century.' The work consists of gleanings from the newspapers, magazines, and other periodical writings of the last century, which the author has connected together, and added his own explanations and remarks. But he has displayed his characteristic want of judgment in the collection of the materials, which are swelled by a number of futile and irrelevant details, and in the style and manner of writing he disgusts us with more than his usual affectation and conceits. Mr. Burnet's 'Specimens of English Prose Writers, from the earliest Times to the present Day,' is not only in itself an amusing work, but may fairly be considered as an auxiliary to the most important labours, for the history of men and manners is inseparably connected with that of the origin, progress, and revolutions of letters. The idea of this compilation was suggested to Mr. Burnett by Ellis' Specimens of early English Poets, to which it is in some degree intended as a counterpart. Though its pretensions are of the most unassuming nature, and though in the execution it is not free from faults of judgment, which in a second edition may easily be corrected, yet the author has an unquestionable right to claim a considerable share of praise. Mr. Frederic Shoberl has spent his time very disgracefully in translating into our language a work, miscalled a 'History of the Female Sex,' from the German of Meiners. This scandalous production is a mixture of indecency and absurdity, and instead of being what it professes, a view of the habits, manners, and influence of women, it presents nothing but an undisguised picture of the abominations of human nature (of men as well as women) in the most gross and disgusting colours. The celebrated Italian scholar, Poggio Bracciolini, left in MS. a Dialogue on the Expediency of Marriage, which took place,

as is supposed to have taken place, between himself and two of his friends, when at the age of fifty-five he began to entertain serious thoughts of matrimony. Mr. Shepherd, whose name is well known in the republic of letters, discovered the MS. at Paris a few years ago, and by the advice of some learned friends, has now given it to the public, by whom it cannot fail to be favourably received. Dr. Jamieson has at length published his Dictionary of the Scottish Language, which was certainly a desideratum in literature, and in the execution of which he has been occupied twenty years. Though we cannot accord to the author the praise of very extraordinary penetration as an etymologist, yet he displays sound judgment and great good sense, and above all, keeps himself free from those fanciful absurdities by which etymologists are in general distinguished. The town and castle of Pontefract make so conspicuous a figure in the history of our country, that Boothroyd's history of them, which abounds with clear and useful information will be found a valuable and entertaining work. Hunt's Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres," are, we think, highly judicious, and from the popularity and general interest of the subject, cannot but prove an acceptable offering to the majority of readers.

DIGEST OF POLITICS,

FOR THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

SINCE our last Appendix was published, a favourable change has taken place not in our domestic, but in our foreign politics.—Bonaparte was marching with rapid strides to the subjugation of Europe. Europe indeed, with the exception of this country, seemed either already trampled under his feet, or calmly awaiting the approach of his imperial domination. All Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Prussia acknowledged his power; Denmark, Austria and Russia were crouching before him and ready to receive the law at his hands. Sweden protected from his grasp by her remote situation and an arm of the sea still offered a feeble opposition to his will. But this was only a slight cause of uneasiness to the GREAT DESPOT, and presented no great nor lasting obstacles to his ambitious views. But at a moment when Bonaparte thought himself the paramount sovereign of the west, his un-

principled attempt to extirpate the old and to plant a new dynasty in Spain, and thus to render the resources of that country more subservient to his scheme of universal conquest, excited a spirit of resistance among that generous people, which has accumulated in the course of a few months to such a degree of force as will probably surpass even the most desperate efforts of the tyrant to overcome.

The sentiment of resistance to the subjugation of France accompanied with an energetic desire of maintaining the independence of Spain, no sooner exploded in one province than it seemed to become instantaneously felt in all. In those parts, where the formidable forces of the enemy prevented the possibility of immediate resistance, the patriotic flame was smothered for a time, but recent occurrences have proved, that it was only apparently and not really extinguished.

This eruption of patriotic virtue in Spain was no sooner known in this country than it excited the most ardent and universal joy. The event was entirely unexpected; and therefore the pleasurable sensation not having been at all diminished by previous anticipation was of the most fresh and vivid kind. Europe seemed condemned to an ignominious and unresisting slavery, when a whole nation, which seemed the most debased by superstition and the most prone to servitude, rose as one man to shake off the yoke, to hurl defiance at the gigantic despot of France, and either to rescue their country from foreign dependence or to perish in the attempt. The general and unmingled approbation of the glorious attempt which was excited in this country partook of the rapture of enthusiasm; and proved that notwithstanding many opposite appearances, the love of freedom and of virtue is still glowing in the hearts of Englishmen.

Extremes generate contraries. This has been particularly seen in the course of the French revolution. In France the extreme of liberty soon passed into the opposite extreme of servitude. That anarchy which would not submit to the sway of the best, or the rule of law, soon terminated in a submission to the dominion of the worst, or the caprice of depotism. The convulsive struggles of the revolution, and the atrocities which were perpetrated by its advocates, gave for a time a fatal shock to the principles of liberty in this country; they rendered the majority willing to be the passive instruments of oppression or inclined to consider the light of freedom as less pleasurable than the darkness of slavery. But the tyranny of Bonaparte, which since the end of the year 1800 has been receiving continual accessions of strength by his stratagems at home and his conquests abroad, has been attended with some beneficial influence. The fear, which the sight of his overwhelming power

has excited in this country has necessitated a recourse to the long and much slighted principles of liberty as the only means of counteraction. The old and crazy despotisms of the continent, all falling before the young, vigorous and towering despotism of Napoleon, afforded a demonstrative proof that the march of his all-crushing tyranny which had been in vain attempted to be stopped by the efforts of slaves, could be effectually impeded only by the exertions of freemen. Since the accession of Bonaparte to the imperial sceptre with which he has menaced the conquest of this country, despotism has been reprobated even by those in whom the anarchical excesses of the revolution had previously inspired a propensity to despotic sway. Hence the general principles of liberty have been viewed with less jealousy even by the professed advocates of the court, than they were during the tumultuary paroxysms of the revolution. The principles of liberty may not indeed in reality be cherished by the court with more fondness than they have been at former periods, but at least a nominal and exterior regard for them has in some measure become necessary for its own security.

Hence when the Spanish people, who had deposed one king and appointed another, resolved to throw off the humiliating yoke of France, the news was received not only with enthusiastic joy by the people but with a more than ordinary complacency by the court. The Spanish deputies, though coming as representatives rather of the sovereignty of the people than of any individual sovereign, were cordially received by the ministers of the crown. The object of their mission has been accomplished and their most pressing wants liberally supplied. Nay, as a token of the *royal favour* to the patriots of Spain, his majesty's picture, set with diamonds, is said to have been sent as a present to the junta of Oviedo; and the same gracious boon is designed for the other juntas in the different provinces. Had his majesty at a former period sent his picture to the president of the national assembly, or rather had he shewn the same complacency in, and the same desire to promote, the *primary*, virtuous and patriotic efforts of the French to moderate the despotism of the Bourbons, which he has to assist the Spaniards in establishing their national liberty and independence, we believe that the mixed government, which the French first constituted, would have remained to this day, and that Louis XVI. would have been still alive. There was a period when the government of this country by patronising the first efforts of the revolution, and by guaranteeing the *limited* monarchy which the French were anxious to substitute for the old arbitrary system, might have rendered itself master of the revolution; might at least in a great measure, have directed its course, moderated its violence and prevented its enormities. But, by the inveterate

hostility which the cabinet of this country discovered to the revolution from its earliest period, by the countenance which it gave to its enemies, and the abuse which writers were hired to lavish on its friends, the English government lost that influence and authority which it must otherwise have possessed at that period in France, and from which both France and this country might have derived the most important benefits. If the French revolution, which was at its commencement, the fair progeny of wisdom and of virtue, became in the sequel, a hydra headed monster of folly and of crimes, the government of this country ought principally to bear the blame. The cabinet of Great Britain irritated where they might have soothed, and omitted no opportunities, and neglected no effort to increase the frenzy which a mild, pacific and amicable conduct might have appeased.

Fortunately for ourselves, and we think and hope fortunately for mankind, we have adopted towards the partizans of liberty in Spain, a conduct very different from that which we manifested towards those in France; and we congratulate both the sovereign and his ministers on having at least thus far learned wisdom by experience. It is our duty, as we value the sacred principles of liberty, it is our interest as we regard the security of this country, and as we dread the domination of France, to cherish the revolution of sentiment which has taken place in Spain; and to support any political form, whether monarchical or republican, which may be the result.

The first successes of the Spaniards have surpassed the most sanguine expectation; they have covered themselves with glory, they have filled their friends with joy and clothed their enemies with shame. The desperate conflict which took place between the inhabitants of Madrid and the French troops in the month of May, was the fore-runner of that determined opposition which the armies of Napoleon have experienced in every part of Spain. The press, which is one of the powerful enemies of despotism, has been very successfully employed in the different provinces to expose the insidious designs of Bonaparte, and to convince the people that they ought to consider no sacrifice too great in order to procure a deliverance from his tyranny. The different manifestos, proclamations, &c. which have been published by the supreme juntas and by patriotic individuals, breathe a discreet but fervid abomination of tyranny, and the most enlightened love of liberty. These productions lead us to form a very high opinion of the intellectual culture of the higher orders in Spain. If we may judge not only from the tone of these papers, but from the actual conduct of the Spaniards in the most critical circumstances in which any nation was ever placed, we do not fear to assert that there is at this moment a greater degree of public spirit in Spain than

in any other country in Europe. Spain indeed, is not like this country enriched by commerce; but at the same time, she is not corrupted by luxury. Her inhabitants in general a e a simple and frugal people, capable of enduring privations and of encountering dangers and toils. Such a people can never be overcome, neither by the old nor the new conscripts of France.

The official account of the state of Spain which has been published in the Moniteur, while it is filled with the most artful misrepresentations, and the grossest falsehoods, is at the same time highly interesting from the confession which it furnishes in every line, that the whole country is from one end to the other in a state of determined hostility to the domination of the French. The French could according to their own accounts hardly move a step without meeting with resistance. Every house is a fortress, and the family constitute the garrison. Men, women and children—all are determined rather to perish than to submit to the French. The cities of Valencia and of Sarragossa, were destitute of all regular fortifications, but the hearts of the inhabitants proved stouter than walls of brass. Moncey and Lefebvre can attest the fact; and, if they would tell the truth to their imperial master, it would, if his mind be not totally infatuated, be sufficient to make him desist from the vain attempt to subjugate Spain. The French official account alone is sufficient to prove that the Spaniards commanded by Palafox, a hero of more than chivalrous celebrity, must have defended the naturally defenceless town of Sarragossa with unexampled constancy and perseverance. Even the gloomy abodes of superstition and intolerance became the receptacles of high-minded patriots. Fourteen convents in the city were fortified in the best manner circumstances would permit, and were not carried by the enemy without the most desperate resistance. The French were allowed no breathing-time; the most desperate conflicts ensued for several successive days. The French say that they got possession 'of three fourths of the town, of the arsenal and the magazines,' but yet the unextinguished valour of Palafox and his heroic associates obliged them at last to leave the place under cover of the night.

The example of Saragossa alone is sufficient to prove that the resistance which the French will have to encounter in Spain, in the farther prosecution of the contest, is not to be contrasted with that which the cabinets of Vienna, of Berlin, or of Petersburgh, have opposed to their attacks. The armies of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, were not animated by a sentiment of interest in the cause for which they fought. They were led, like beasts to the slaughter; and it mattered little to them whether they were victors or vanquished. But among the Spanish armies every individual feels a direct personal interest in the cause in which he is engaged. He feels that the

interest of his country is his own; that her losses and her gains are his losses and gains; and that he is completely identified with her victories or defeats, with her glory or her shame. Such is the difference between the soldier who is a slave fighting for a despot, and the soldier who is a freeman, fighting for the liberties and independence of his country.

From a wise, a dignified, and a truly patriotic manifesto, which has lately been published by the Supreme Junta of Seville, we see with pleasure that enlightened body recommending the formation of a Supreme Government to be constituted of two deputies from each of the supreme juntas of the kingdom, with an elective president in the absence of all the members of the royal family. Thus the authority of all the supreme juntas, and consequently of the people by whom they were appointed, will be concentrated in a point, and the jealousies of the different provinces will be made to submit to the general will. The government itself will assume a republican form; but that form, which is better adapted than any other to cherish and to support an enthusiastic devotion to the interests of the country, and in the love of liberty to absorb the fear of death, seems best suited to the *present* circumstances of Spain.

The emperor of Austria, incited probably by the intelligence from Spain, and aware that he must sooner or later have to contend with Bonaparte for his crown, if not his life, seems for some time to have been preparing for the last desperate struggle with the power by which he has been so often vanquished. Bonaparte who is well aware of the hostile mind of Austria, seems determined rather to anticipate than to wait for her attack. This must cause at least some diversion of his force, and prevent him, for the present, from exerting all his military resources against Spain.

The two victories which the British forces obtained over the French in Portugal on the 17th and 21st of last month filled us with the most lively joy; not more on account of the victories themselves than of the beneficial results by which, in common with the rest of our countrymen, we expected that they would be followed. In those results we anticipated the unconditional surrender of the French army, and of the Russian fleet. The comparative disparity of circumstances and of force between the French and the English armies naturally warranted this expectation, and prevented every reasonable man from indulging any other. The French army, after the losses which it had sustained, did not amount to ten thousand men; the British force was altogether more than triple the amount. The French were precluded from the possibility of receiving any reinforcements either by land or sea. They possessed no means of escape either by land or sea. Neither desperate valour nor

heroic enterprize, nor subtle contrivance, could in any common probability avert their capture. It might be delayed for a short time by the strength of the works which they occupied; but it must ere long have ensued.

Yet, in such circumstances, immediately after the most decisive victory, our commanders consent to receive the law from the French. The French General Kellerman, on the day after the battle of Vimeira, comes into the English camp, and absolutely dictates the terms of a suspension of arms which Sir Arthur Wellesley signs. In these terms it was provisionally agreed that the French should not be considered as prisoners of war, but that they should be suffered to return to France with their arms, baggage, and all the spoil of Portugal. The articles to which Sir Arthur Wellesley acceded in the agreement for a suspension of arms, deserve particular attention, because they laid the foundation of the definitive convention which followed; and they are, if possible, more humiliating and disgraceful than the terms which appear in that convention. In defence of Sir Arthur Wellesley, it is said that he signed the articles of a suspension of arms only in obedience to the orders which he received. But ought he to have signed what he disapproved? or was he under any obligation whatever thus to attest his own disgrace? There seems to have been a great contest both in the ministerial cabinet, and in what the author of a '*Plain Statement*,' respecting the Duke of York, calls the *domestic* or *family cabinet* of the King, respecting the appointment of a commander in chief to the army in Portugal. Sir Arthur Wellesley is said to have been supported by the majority of the ministers, and we leave it to those who are in the *secret* to explain why he was superseded by Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Harry Burrard by Sir Hew Dalrymple. The appointment of the latter gentleman, however, is generally supposed to have been rather the result of a complicated intrigue than of any regard for the public weal. Thus the true interest of Britain has been sacrificed to the spirit of party, and the national glory, interest, and security have been less regarded than the sordid, the ambitious, or the selfish views of a few narrow-minded individuals. Sir Hew Dalrymple is represented as an old enervated voluptuary, more fit to repose on the couch of ease than to encounter the hardy labours of a military life. The surrender of Mack at Ulm, and of Whitelock at Buenos Ayres, are those contemporary events, which in point of conduct and of glory, have the closest approximation to the recent transactions of our commanders in Portugal.

The war between the Russians and Swedes in Finland remains in a state of fluctuating indecision; but the preponderance of success has lately been rather in favour of the Swedes.

The possession of Finland has, from its vicinity to Petersburgh, long been an object of desire to that court; and it will certainly form a principal topic of contention in any future negotiation between the two powers. Does the publication of an intercepted letter from one of the Prussian ministers, named Stein, to a friend, respecting the hostile disposition of his countrymen to the French, which has lately appeared in the Paris papers, presage the total ruin of the house of Frederick, or was it published in order to tell that fallen court to beware of accelerating that event by her perfidious hostility? The house of Austria, swollen with pride, and yet conscious of imbecility, impatient of submission, and yet fearful of resistance, has for some time been vacillating between the dread of Bonaparte, and the feverish desire to attempt the recovery of the power which she has lost. The late events in Spain may, perhaps, have encouraged her hopes and weakened her fears. It is at least certain that her military preparations have excited the suspicions of Napoleon; and there is seldom any long interval between his suspicions of hostility and his anticipation of the attack which he suspects. It is probable that before Christmas the Emperor Francis will have to contend not only for his capital but his existence. If he is beaten in the field, he will probably be stripped of his imperial honours, and either be transported into France like the King of Spain, to terminate his days in captivity, or be liberated from his regrets by some *shorter process*, which the usurper knows so well how to practise both with subjects and with sovereigns. It is not to be supposed that Bonaparte would make any offensive movements against Austria at a time when so much of his force is occupied by the Spaniards, unless he had previous assurance of the co-operation of Alexander. Is the court of Vienna, exhausted by so many wars, and dispirited by so many defeats, likely to make a vigorous and successful opposition against such a formidable league? Will that court, in order to multiply its resources and redouble the courage of its troops, renounce its own despotism and give liberty to its subjects? Will the example of Spain convince the Austrian cabinet that no fortresses are so impregnable as those which the love of liberty and the sense of the possession can erect in the breast of man?

If Austria should be defeated in the impending contest with France, she will fall to rise no more. If Bonaparte should be beaten, he has triple and quaduple rows of fortresses behind which he can retire, where he may rally his force and recover from the blow. We must however assert that, if it were not for the effect which it may have on the success of the Spanish cause, we should behold the renewal of the war between the court of Vienna and the Thuilleries with perfect unconcern.

It is only one despotism waging war upon another, and humanity must suffer on which ever side the fortune of battle may incline.

If Austria be subjugated, the conquest of Turkey, which has been so long meditated, will be seriously begun. In such a project the Emperor Alexander would certainly very cordially second the designs of Napoleon. But since the late revolution at Constantinople, that power has assumed a more imposing attitude, and we believe that the natural tendencies to enthusiasm, which there are in the Mahometan religion, when operating on the inherent vigour of the Turkish character, may, if cherished and supported by a wise and efficient administration, render the conquest of Turkey a more difficult atchievement than is commonly imagined. The Turkish institutions oppose such a bar to the progress of civilization, that there are many persons who would, on that account, readily see Turkey overrun by a Christian power; but is the Russian more civilized than the Turk? or are the legends of the koran more unfavourable to morality than the mummery of the Greek church?

It is impossible to ascertain what were the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit; but conjecture is always ready to supply the defects of evidence; and it has been shrewdly suspected that the two emperors agreed to partition Europe between them. The western division was to be the lot of Bonaparte, and the eastern that of Alexander. The sovereigns whom they might suffer still to exercise a vicarious rule were either to minister to their splendour or to alleviate the burden of the administration. The formidable aspect which Spain, so lately considered as one of the brightest jewels of the western crown, has since assumed, must have greatly disarranged this plan if it ever were conceived. The salvation indeed of the west of Europe, from the pressure of an overwhelming despotism is, at this moment, at stake on the triumph of the Spanish patriots over the arms of France.

If the Spaniards succeed in establishing a free government; if the political influence of France be totally expunged from the Spanish councils, and both the government and the people recover their antient vigour and independence; if the intellectual and moral and physical culture of the country experience no mischievous impediments in the new institutions which they may adopt, Spain must, from its natural resources, its situation, its climate, its productions, and the varied genius of its people, soon rise to the rank of a first-rate power. She will become as she was of old, the rival rather than the slave, the terror rather than the contempt of France.

Since the unfortunate union of the French and the Spanish dynasties, no adequate check has been found in the south to

the ambitious attempts of France in the north. But when Spain once more resumes her independence, she will be found a constant and formidable restraint on the aggressions of France on the other powers of Europe. Not only from motives of policy, but from long transmitted antipathies, from ancient rivalry, and from the sense of recent injuries, Spain cannot soon cease to be the enemy of France. But while France has such an enemy in the rear, who can pour troops into the most vulnerable part of her dominions in the south, she must necessarily keep her ambition within bounds, and be taught moderation, if not by the sentiment of public duty, by the pressure of imperious circumstances. When the unnatural alliance, which has, for more than a century, thrown the strength of Spain into the scale of France is totally dissolved, Spain will find a powerful and useful ally in England, and England in Spain; and both England and Spain, united in a firm and rational amity, may controul the turbulent spirit of France, and preserve the tranquillity of the world.

France is a power, which from the lively, restless, and ambitious temperament of her people will always want bridling; and can this salutary purpose be better effected than by the power of England in the north and of Spain in the south? In fighting for the liberties and independence of Spain England is in fact contending, though on Spanish ground, for her own liberties and independence. The interests of the two countries are at this moment the same. They are really one and indivisible; and so they must remain, till the present colossal greatness of France is considerably reduced. We have not often had occasion to bestow praise on the present ministers, but our candour tells us that they deserve the highest eulogy for the promptitude with which they have sent succours to Spain; and from the zeal which they have manifested in their endeavours to support the liberty and independence of that country; which are so intimately blended with our own. It is to be devoutly hoped, however, that the present cabinet will learn a lesson of wisdom from the unfortunate issue of their expedition to Portugal, and that by inflicting an exemplary punishment on the guilty, whoever they may be, they will convince the commanders of British armies that they cannot with impunity suffer the victories which they may gain in the field to be lost by their imbecility or their folly in the cabinet.

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